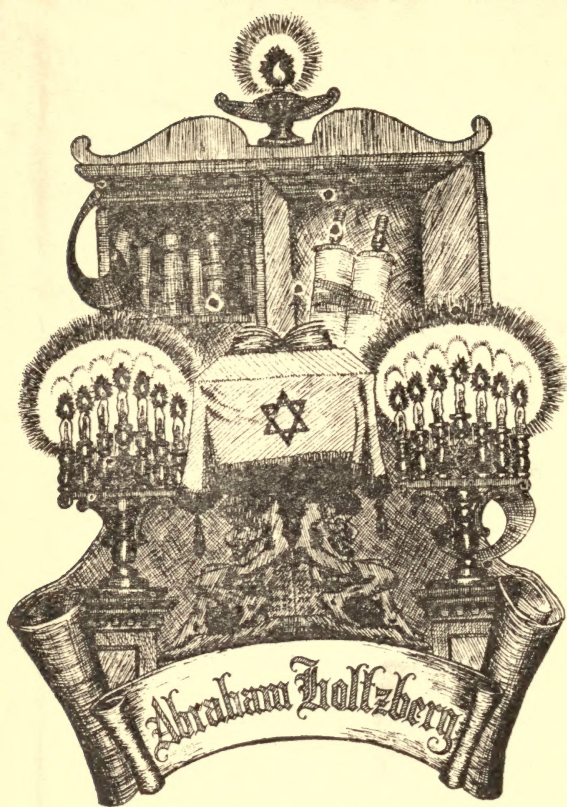




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Free Synagogue Pulpit

Sermons and Addresses

by

Stephen S. Wise

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What is An American?

Let me answer the question, What is an American? by asking and answering yet another—What Americanism is Not. Americanism is not a matter of birth and ancestry, for the American is self-made, not born. Americanism, being ever in the making, is of present content and not of ancient context; is not a birthright-privilege, but a lifelong responsibility. America is not a form or type of government, for, save in its utter essentials, the American Government might change and America yet remain unchanged.

Is it needful to insist that America is not a geographical or territorial name, seeing that the littlest child understands that America is other and more than a place? America is not a place, not a region, not a locality. America is an atmosphere, an ideal, a vision as yet unfulfilled.

Americanism, then, is an ideal, and an American is one who lives by and for that ideal—the dwelling together of men and women under laws of their own framing, with leadership of their own choosing, each free to pursue the ends of life as he sees them, and bound solely by the necessity of ever-present concern for the well-being of all. The basis of the ideal of Americanism is the duty of each to all and the responsibility of all to each. The method of the democracy of America is the rule or self-rule of all and its end the welfare of all.

Where shall we find a better interpretation of our democracy than that of the American publicist who

declared that the American democracy is nothing less than the life of all by the cooperation of all for the welfare of all? Whether we define America, as does Walt Whitman, as existing for no other purpose than to realize the collective will of its subjects, or whether we say, with Henry van Dyke, that every man shall have an equal chance to make himself count for what he is worth, or whether we hold, with Mazzini, that democracy is the use of all the resources of nature by all the faculties of men for the good of all the people, we come at last to the basic truth that America may be defined as the duty of all through the rule of all for the good of all. "I speak the password primal, I give the sign of democracy. . By God! I will accept nothing which all can not have their counterpart of on the same terms."

Law and order and the converse, liberty under law, are of the very essence of our American democracy, but it is our business to make law just and to humanize or socialize order, lest even under a nominally democratic régime law and order become the names of injustice and moral anarchy, clothed in the flexible forms of law, and thus it fail "to equalize opportunity, to minimize the causes of poverty, to choke up the sources of crime."

One of the best ways of revealing the soul of America to the foreigner is to bring home to him the majesty of the American ideal of liberty under law, by showing him that it is possible in America under our democracy to have just laws, impartial enforcement and honest administration. The evil that corrupt political organizations have done in New York and other seaboard cities in debasing the ideals of the immigrant touching American life can never be calculated. The enforcement of law is never to become in our own land a matter of purchase and sale, of favor and privilege. In many European lands, govern-

ment is interpreted in terms of license for the favored and restraint for the unfavored. Here must be found law and not lawlessness enthroned. We must not have two laws, one for the rich and one for the poor. Let it never come to pass that we have laws for the poor and lawyers for the rich,—the poor constrained to keep the law and the rich entitled to keep lawyers,—laws for the poor and lawlessness for the rich.

I name America an ideal, and an American a sharer and cherisher thereof. But Americanism is or is becoming more than an ideal. Americanism is a religion to millions who rightly discern its meaning in the spirit. Some cherish Americanism as they cherish their birth-right or achieved faith. Others cherish it as their only faith, the love of it satisfying their spirit-hunger. The question faces us whether Americanism is not to supersede a multitude of creeds and to become the means of spiritual expression to millions of America's sons and daughters. Is this the apotheosis of patriotism? Is this the substitution of jingoistic extravagance for religious self-restraint? I do not think so. It is that something more than place and people, it is that more than country, now defined by the aims of war and by us to be shared with all peoples, that places millions under the thrall of America as if it were the faith of faiths.

I call America a religion, for are not the bases, the principles of religion and democracy, one—"religion the principle, politics the application"? Was not the liberator of Italy unerring when he declared that the law of equality between soul and soul lies at the root of every great belief linking man to God? The writer is one of millions of foreign-born Americans to whom America is the priceless possession of their souls, who love America as sanctuary and sanctity alike, to whom America is enshrined by the side of the altar of the soul's faith in the Highest, fulfilling in very

truth the prophecy of a latter-day prophet, "for God and people."

Is it not because we have failed to see that our American democracy must be held as a religious concept that we have lapsed into the depths of civic debauchery and degradation, which have stained the escutcheon of American cities throughout the past generation? Until we think of Americanism and religion as interchangeable terms, we shall not hold American institutions sacred, we shall not have an end of petty thieving and larger stealing, of the betrayal of our Government—cities and States alike—by corrupted officials and worst of all by corruptly indifferent people. President Wilson has put it most persuasively—the glory of America is that she is a great spiritual conception and that in the spirit of her institutions dwells not only her distinction but her power, and that the one thing the world can not permanently resist is the moral force of great and triumphant convictions. May it not be that the cherishing of America as a religion, even though every patriotism is self-limiting, and it be of the essence of religion to universalize rather than to limit, grows in part out of that divorce of Church and State, which insures the interpenetration of nation and religion by each other? May it not hark back to the Biblical bases in the seventeenth century of the chief of the American colonies as a theocratic commonwealth?

Two classes of Americans require to be Americanized—for Americanism is never to be taken for granted in any man—Americans native and Americans foreign-born. The elemental distinction between immigrant and alien must never be forgotten. An immigrant is a foreigner who becomes an American. An alien is one who never becomes an American whether native-born or foreigner. The foreign-born like the native-American is always a man and never

a problem. He is ever to be treated as a man. Never hold him to the light as a problem nor look upon his darker side as a man. The statesman-leader of American democracy was right when, speaking long before our advent into the war in greeting to the Daughters of the American Revolution, he said of the vast majority of the foreign-born citizens of the United States: "Their belief in America has made them better citizens than some people who were born in America," and predicted that they would meet the test "of America First."

No man is an American who does not place America first, before himself. He must serve America: America must not serve him. No man is an American who is not possessed of a genuinely democratic faith—that is, trust in the people and such devotion to the commonwealth as sets the benefit of all above the advantage of one or some. He who holds democracy to be the rule of the mob is not a democrat, whether his forbears came to Massachusetts in 1620 or he to New York in 1910. American is he who counts "democracy the rule of the many with standards" and strives as one to make it so. He is no American who is a democrat on parade. American is he who is democratic—genuinely, profoundly, passionately. He is no American who cherishes prejudices, whether these be social or racial or religious, who thinks of foreign-born Americans as "filling the European liners with human freight." All this is only another way of saying that an American is a conscious, vigilant, fraternal, unwearied creator of America, who scorns the notion that America bears a charmed life, and that democracy, even though it be of the American brand, guarantees the automatic solution of its own problems.

Two types of Americanization have obtained, the one mechanical and the other spiritual. Mechanical

is that Americanization which involves nothing more than setting foot on American soil by a foreigner, his subsequent application for and attainment of citizenship, and adopting the outer manners of America. A decade or more ago, it came to be felt as a result of various causes that the immigrant required protection from those ready to prey upon him. Moreover, it was feared that Americanization, still of vague and elusive content, was not coming swiftly enough and that the processes must be accelerated. Insight and statesmanship lay back of this conviction, but, alas, these were insufficiently touched by the grace of humility. Wherefore the "Americanizers" proceeded in many cases to place their special brand of Americanism upon the immigrant market. Had these humbly said, "Let us, whether Americans of earlier or later growth, together seek after the American ideal," the newer or newest Americans might have been moved. But there was something repellant in the mechanical aspect of these facilitated and accelerated processes of Americanization, which therefore failed to fire the imagination of the immigrant.

Moreover—and this is not only parenthetical—some of the folk in the background, and sometimes in the foreground, of the Americanization movement represented or seemed to represent the very things which the immigrants believed America was not or ought not to be. The movement fell into the hands of—in any event was subsidized by—folk who seemed to the immigrant peoples to be American counterparts of or approximations to the feudal-minded lords of the lands whence the emigrants had fled.

Thus in large measure the Americanization movement began. On the educational side, its insistence upon education for the adult as well as the youthful immigrant, the campaign was beyond praise, and admirable were the measures of protection devised to

shield the immigrant from despoilers and debauchers. None the less the movement lacked a fine perception of the inmost meaning of the quest, whose end is Americanism. The foreigner can not be Americanized through calculated effort on the part of those who play with the task as a social pastime rather than cherish it as a religious passion.

And yet dare we not hold that men have builded better than they knew? Has it not been borne in upon us that Americans are at one, yea one, in their eager, self-forgetting escrousal of the American cause? I do not believe that homogeneous England (not Britain) or even invaded France is more truly one in devotion to the highest ends of the world-conflict than are the many and varied elements of the population that is America. Had the war revolved around some land-grabbing scheme or market-seizing operation, had our rôle been as ignoble as it is noble, had we been dragged into a war by a White House imperialist avid of tawdry fame, instead of being led by a statesman of wise and noble purposes to the side of England and France, warring through war upon war's champions, the peoples of America might, I dare say, ought to, have failed the nation.

But in the test, final and supreme, the immigrant groups, including all save a small minority of the nationals of the lands with which we are at war, are as loyal to America as America is loyal to itself. If the immigrants have been equal to the hardest and bitterest of tests—for emigration meant to millions the escape from war—may not the immigrants be relied upon to rise to the highest level of Americanism, whatever be the test or challenge of the future?

To illustrate what is meant by the mechanical processes of Americanization, it will suffice to speak briefly of Zangwill's "Melting Pot" and the theory

which it involves. The theory is now in peril of over-facile acceptance, because we are naturally inhospitable to differences and diversities at a time when unity is the means through which our America alone can win the war against mighty foes. But, without pressing a figure too hard, do we will that America shall become a melting-pot? The melting-pot is a fit receptacle for things inorganic, inanimate, impersonal, and peoples are organic and animate and personal. You can not so melt away every distinguishing token of the Gallic and Scandinavian races present in America as to make them uniform without impoverishing the resultant America. America does not aim to go back to racial and national origins and to uproot these, but rather, changing the figure, to bring the peoples and races within the unity of a common purpose. The melting-pot makes for uniformity outward and America aims at inward unity. May it not be put that Americanization is to achieve nationally, racially, religiously, what the democracy does politically, not fuse but federate, a meeting without merging of the brotherly dissimilitudes, the persistence of varying types within the inclusive circle of the Republic's life?

America demands not of the immigrant that he be oblivious of the past as his starting-point, but that his soul be fixed upon the goal which is America. I can speak here with the authority of life-long relation to one phase of the problem. As a Jew and Jewish teacher, I have seen it become more certain with the years that the Jew, who chooses to believe or affects to believe that Americanism demands of him a complete break with his racial and religious past, is likely to become an American of feeble faith and infirm will. Disloyalty does not breed loyalty. The finest service to the future may be expected of him, who reverences, even magnifies, the past.

If we would really Americanize the foreigner, we must help him to maintain, and enable America to assimilate, the best things of the spirit that he brings with him from the European world. We must help the foreigner to understand that Americanization need not imply vandalism touching the finest things of the old life. Americanization does not imply repudiation of Europe. We dare not lose sight of the reverence we owe to the civilizations which lie back of many of the immigrants who come to this land. Strange and uncouth they may seem to us, but among them are the children of great and abiding civilizations, and let no man be disesteemed merely because he is unlike ourselves. To Americanize is not to proselytize. American fair play would guarantee to every man the right to worship God according to his own convictions and not according to the persuasions or prejudices of his neighbor. There is a fusing which results in confusion, and there is no reason why peoples and races and faiths of the world should here surrender and abandon all their individuality for the more or less arbitrary purpose of achieving a new racial amalgam.

I urge this lest adoptive or foreign-born Americans be frightened into timid and spineless acquiescence in the policy of insistence upon American uniformity. Uniformity is never the equivalent of unity though often a mask to hide its absence. "Uniformity is the curse of democracy; diversity its ideal." It can not be repeated too often that Americanization is an inward and not an outward process, not base and servile imitation of things external, but free and generous emulation of the inmost soul of America, not simulation of the false but assimilation of the true America. The invertebrate surrender of which I have spoken would mean that adoptive Americans understand they dare not be themselves. In truth, they are not asked to deny and efface themselves. They are neither naked souls nor ragged beggars entering for the first

time into a precious heritage but bearing sacred heritages with them, coming in many cases into the possibility of a great future out of the certainty of a mighty past. Ask of the foreign-born American all that it doth become a man to give. Who dares ask or give more is none—for the surrender of one's soul's integrity is suicide.

And this America of ours, its making *by us* from day to day, its reshaping *of us* from hour to hour—how daring an enterprise, how ennobling a hope, to give ourselves for America and to give America to the world! Not America for Americans, but Americans for America and America for all the world.

It was said by Plutarch of the Athens of Pericles that "there was a kind of flourishing fairness in it, as if the wonderful works with which he had adorned the city were inhabited with some living spirit, eternally young and fresh, a soul, as it were, which preserved it in good continuing state." Such flourishing fairness is our own to-day and America is fairer than ever because she has, counting not the cost, set herself against the foulnesses of an order that is doomed to perish from the earth. Her fairness flourishes as never before, because sons and daughters to the number of millions—one hundred and more—are resolved to perish sooner than suffer the world again to dwell under the shadow of the sword, its attempted repeal of the law of right as binding upon nations, its threatened invasion of the liberties of men and peoples. But that flourishing fairness will abide only as long as the nation is inhabited by a living spirit, by that soul the achievement of which is the privilege of every American.

"So may our ransomed country, like the city of the promise, lie forever four-square under heaven, and the ways of all the nations be lit up by its light."

God make us worthy of America, willing to serve her eagerly and loyally, and, through the loving service of all her children, God make America worthier to serve the world.

- A few days ago it fell to my lot to give the address at the so-called Commencement Exercises of the Development Battalion at Camp Devens, Massachusetts. I must briefly tell its story. Its pupils are men who, upon entering the camp, were unable to read and write English, many of them unable to speak English, and not a few wholly illiterate even in their own native tongues. Under the leadership of the Y.M.C.A.,—one of the war's miracles of service,—and with the co-operation of the Camp authorities, the men had been studying English with especial reference to military terms. Twenty-eight nationalities and almost as many tongues were represented in the audience.

I wondered as I faced this strange, motley, withal uniform company whether my word would be understood. To these young men garbed in the livery of freedom, I appealed in these terms: To their parents, as to mine, to them as to me America had been a gracious hostess, a succoring friend, a sheltering home. And now America needed support, strength and sacrifice, lest the enemies of America triumph and there be no America to serve and bless mankind. Who should be readier than we, her adoptive sons, to serve America now? I thanked God in their name as in my own that the hour had struck, which would bear witness to our undying gratitude for all that America had given us and to our changeless love for all that America had come to be in a world struggling and suffering for freedom. No gathering of Colonial Descendants or Sons of the American Revolution could have been quicker of understanding and heartier in assent.

As I looked into the gleaming faces of these Pilgrim-Americans it seemed that the daring dreamers of America were vindicated. They had trusted the genius of America and that trust proved to have been built upon a rock. America has achieved unity of spirit. War has not wrought it; Kaiserism has not compelled it; the genius of America has revealed its ultimate power over the souls of those it touches.

These men held nothing dear by the side of America. Such is the majestic compulsion of freedom. I heard these men sing in strangely fluid English the song of "My Country". They had found their country and had lost nothing. America's guests had become her children. They to whom much had been given were now ready to give all. The question need nevermore be asked,—Is it safe to keep the doors wide open? The faith of America had been rewarded an hundred-fold. They were ready to lose their lives if so be they might serve America and save the American ideal. Thus will America have won two wars, the war of her sons for America, the war of America for unhampered freedom and untainted justice among all the sons of men.

"The Glory That is France"

Bastille Day Addresses 1917 and 1918

Bastille Day Address, 1917*

In welcoming you this day as the representative of Alsace-Lorraine, the City of New York greets you as a son of France. This meeting of welcome to Monsieur Blumenthal is the verdict of a free people upon the shame of Zabern. The welcome our city offers your Excellency is a token of the will of the American people to be included among Les Amis de L'Alsace Lorraine, such friends of Alsace Lorraine as in the name of justice and for the sake of peace are resolved to right the wrong by you too long endured.

There have been many great moments in this war, moments which reveal the hidden causes of the world-strife, which lay bare the deeps of a people's soul. One such moment was that, which found a priest of Rome, almost suggesting the moral and spiritual stature of Mercier, fleeing from Germany at the behest of honor albeit at the risk of death, in order that he might pledge anew to France the deathless love of inalienable Alsace-Lorraine,—Abbe Wetterle, embodying in his purpose and act the eternal fidelity of Alsace-Lorraine to France, and to France alone.

Let no word of gratitude be spoken by you to us for we are comrades, allies, brothers in a war for the

* Aeolian Hall, New York

In Welcome of M. Blumenthal of Alsace-Lorraine.

liberation of humanity. You, the much-enduring children of Alsace-Lorraine, were the first to feel the shock of pitiless invasion. We are the last to answer the summons. But there is no taint of the selfish or sordid in the aims of either of us. We looked upon you and found a world made *unsafe for democracy* and freedom, by reason of the ruthless resolves of Prussian autocracy and militarism. Eagerly following the call of our wise and patient leader in the White House, we shall be satisfied with nothing less than the liberation of the enslaved but unconquered people of Alsace-Lorraine.

Not unto us be the honor and the glory, but to your France to which the human race is become debtor, the France which did most to liberate the New World in the eighteenth century, which has done and suffered most to liberate the Old World in the twentieth century.

The American people, bent upon no selfish end, its soul, we pray, to remain untainted by the baseness of self-seeking, acquiesces in the program of "No Annexations," which the German people have thus far been unable to force upon their unchastened masters. No *Annexation*, but the *Liberation* of the stolen provinces and their restoration to the France of their imperishable love and loyalty! No annexation, save of freedom by the Prussian people, freedom from Kaiser and Kaiserism, freedom from the evil genius of that militarism, which but for the epic sacrifices of your France, the valor of immortal Belgium and the vigilance of unconquerable Britain, might have enslaved the world. Instead of retaining Alsace-Lorraine and gaining Belgium, let Germany seek humbly and penitently to regain her own lost soul, a soul that must shatter the hell-born spell of Hohenzollernism, ere it again be free.

Alsace-Lorraine, which no scrap of paper could loose from France nor bind to Prussia, has during the forty-five years since the crime of Versailles rendered mankind two great services. First, your countrymen

have taught the world that a people cannot be de-nationalized and re-nationalized against its own will, that no human bond or relation is more sacred than that of Nationality, and that the attempted suppression of Nationality is under God, bound to meet with the penalties that are history. During forty long and for you terrible, soul-stifling years, you taught men that the rights of Nationality are not conditioned by numbers of population nor magnitude of territory, that liberty and justice are respecters neither of persons nor of nations. If the crime of handing over Alsace-Lorraine, land and people alike, to Prussia had been, as it ought to have been, averted in 1871, Prussia would never have imagined that the ways of national glory and international brigandage are identical, the Macchiavellianism of Bismarck would never have gained ascendancy over Middle Europe and the soul of Prussia might have been saved from that corruption which made 1914's treason to humanity inevitable.

By the tragedy of her suffering and the glory of her unconquerableness Alsace-Lorraine proclaimed in 1871 and proclaims in 1917 that which we will do well to remember in the hour of peace: there must be no enslaved peoples, no Prussianized Alsace-Lorraine, whether French, or Belgian, or Polish, or Servian, or Italian or Armenian.

One other debt the world owes to Alsace-Lorraine! There were those who long imagined the rape of Alsace-Lorraine to be the result not so much of Prussian prowess as of French decadence. Not in unreasoning loyalty but with unerring prescience, Alsace-Lorraine thought and felt differently. We doubted France, but Alsace-Lorraine doubted never. The Marne, the Somme, Verdun are the vindication of Alsace-Lorraine's faith and love. Yea, the Marne and Verdun were in part because of the unfaltering trust of France's long-exiled but never alien children. Had Alsace-Lorraine doubted, France might have despaired of herself. Instead of that, France's enemies alone despair because Alsace-Lorraine doubted not.

The resurrection of Alsace-Lorraine as a free people, with deepened desire to be and forever to remain France, is token of the truth that in the eyes of a subjugated people nothing can take the place of freedom. Had Prussia been as considerate and kindly as its military was brutal and merciless, Alsace-Lorraine would still have remained France to the inmost core of her being. There is no substitute for freedom, even though made in Germany. Alsace-Lorraine has taught the world that the only rights of Prussia in Belgium are the rights of evacuation and reparation and the right to such contriteness of soul and conduct as may yet move the soul of restored Belgium to forgive. Upon one thing our common purpose is fixed: Belgium must be free! A world in which Belgium would be suffered to remain a Prussian province would be a world lost to honor. A world satisfied with aught less than the restoration of Belgium would be a world accursed and morally enslaved. Better that America perish from the earth than suffer Belgium to go unredeemed and unrestored.

Why speak of Belgium? Because Belgium is the Alsace-Lorraine of 1914, even as Alsace-Lorraine was the Belgium of 1871. For forty years and more the world suffered a tragic wrong to be inflicted upon Alsace-Lorraine. The hour of liberation has come. The free peoples of earth, including England and Italy, Russia and these United States, have spoken it. Alsace-Lorraine shall pass out of the hands of Prussia into the arms of France. On the fourteenth day of July of next year, may the figure of Alsace-Lorraine no longer draped in the sable of mourning, be wreathed in the Tricolor of France. May the reunited France of another Bastille Day think with loving comradeship of the America of Washington and Lafayette, of Lincoln and Wilson, the America that will not have sheathed the sword until mother France, has enfolded within her arms again her freed and rejoicing children Alsace-Lorraine.

II

Bastille Day Address, 1918*

To internationalize Bastille Day is an overdue acknowledgment of France's leadership in the cause of human freedom and national liberation. The most fitting way in which to celebrate Bastille Day is to urge France to "carry on" as she has gloriously carried on up to this day, to carry on until the hour that the Allied nations shall make peace in Berlin as in Berlin the Central Powers decreed war,—for peace must be made in Berlin as war was made by Berlin.

Prussia found France an inconvenient neighbor and set out to destroy her. The rest of the world that is determined to crush Prussianism hails France as a glorious friend and Ally. France is, as it were, the test and touchstone of the Central and Allied Nations. Feudal Germany hated France and sought to maim, even to crush, her. The free peoples of earth, England, Belgium, Italy, Servia, Roumania, Russia, America love France and will to honor her, that together with unconquerable Britain did most to save Europe from the foul and enslaving Hun.

The American celebration of Bastille Day will consist not in what we may say here,—even though words were less feeble to express the strength of our resolve as a nation,—but in what our sons and brothers do and are to do there in order to win the war and at the earliest possible moment cleanse the blood-hallowed soil of France from the defilement of brutally ravaging hosts. On France's day of days, and forever now become our own, America's solemn resolve must be that, even as France destroyed its own Bastille, so shall we, the Allies together with France, destroy the world's

*At the Chicago and Milwaukee Bastille Day Meetings.

Bastille, which is Prussianism, that it shall nevermore lie as the shadow of death athwart France, radiant without and glorious within, that no Prussian-enslaved Alsace-Lorraine shall obtain in France or in Belgium in Italy or in Russia, in any land in Europe.

Let the American celebration of Bastille Day express our homage to France for the glory of her arms, yes, more than that, foreshadow the reparation to be made in partial payment of the world's indebtedness to France. Reparation for condoning, even sanctioning the crime of 1871! To explain the enormity thereof it needs but to be repeated that Alsace-Lorraine was the Belgium of 1871 as Belgium is the Alsace-Lorraine of 1914. But if the world was morally neutral in 1871, England, Russia, Italy, the United States, in 1914 the world-conscience was awake and Belgium served to disclose the depths of the earlier as well as the later infamy. And if the American people were tardy in their advent into the struggle for world-liberation, we shall battle with saving power, we shall go on with increasing and inexhaustible resources and with unweariable strength to the day of victory. Reparation for having lent ear to the Hun-made myth that France was decadent, outwardly fair peopled by an inwardly degenerate folk. Decadent, forsooth as witnessed by the Marne, by Verdun, by Rheims!

Reparation for one thing more! Some thought France vindictive, irreconcilable. This we know—that even to regain Alsace-Lorraine, the pilfered province France would not have been willing to engulf the human race in a sea of misery. I know not which to admire more, France brave in battle, or France supremely brave and patient and long-suffering for forty years of desolation during which mother France hungered for the return of her enslaved children and knew that her captive sons and daughters would never sing aught in an estranged and enslaving land save threnodies over the tragedy of separation.

And if there be any who, with the taint of one-time neutrality between Germany and civilization still upon their souls, cynically query "Must the world war on for the sake of Alsace-Lorraine?", let the American celebration of Bastille Day be the answer. And let the answer ring throughout the world,—Alsace-Lorraine shall cease to be the booty of the carnage devised by the Brandenburg buccaneers of 1870. The theft of Alsace-Lorraine made the German Empire: Let the reversion of Alsace-Lorraine unmake Germany. Alsace-Lorraine became the keystone of the arch which spanned Prussia's creation, the German Empire. That arch of triumph must crumble with the conversion of its keystone into one of the foundation-stones of the old, new, eternal France. If any there be who in the interest of Germany demand a plebiscite touching Alsace-Lorraine, we answer that the plebiscite has been taken. Germany votes slavery; the world votes liberation. Whom God and their love have joined together, France and Alsace-Lorraine, Kaisers shall not for all time rend asunder.

But this war is being fought for infinitely more than justice to France and mercy to her afflicted children. Had Germany been satisfied to reap the fruits of her crimes up to 1871, she might have gone unwhipped of justice. But the richness of the booty of 1871 whetted anew the "insatiably voracious" appetite of the boars of Brandenburg, who are now to be visited with the punishment of justice, sterner withal more merciful than revenge.

This war is being fought to the end that public right be the law of the civilized world, and that in the immortal accents of America's mighty captain of peace there come at last the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind. And the reign of law and public right means that there shall be no subjugated and alienated Alsace-Lorraine anywhere in Europe, no armed power free to decree such a fate for any land

or people. Bastilles have ceased because France destroyed her own. Alsace-Lorraines will cease to be because of the passing of the blight of Prussianism from the life of nations.

Without straining the analogy it may be said that the world purchased peace for a generation with Hohenzollernism at the expense of France. This war is the vengeance of history upon a world that dared not to withstand the evil of the Alsace-Lorraine spoliation of 1871. The same opportunity to purchase peace lies before us now with the difference that the world was not allied with France as, despite the Bolsheviki, it has been allied with Russia. Moreover, the crown of France was not without guilt in 1870, its wearer a tawdry figure of tinsel fame.

We may have peace, but it will not be peace with honor. It will not be peace at all. It will be a truce of dishonor and of betrayal. To surrender Russia to Germany through covert acquiescence or overt arrangement is to sink to as low level as did the Bolsheviki. However erringly and madly, they pursued a great quest. We will have sought nothing more than safety for our own skins. And this I urge though France went into the war in faithful keeping of an engagement with Russia, and Bolshevik Russia has for a time gone out of the war in faithless keeping of the Lenine-Trotsky engagement with Germany.

The temptation, in one word, is to save Europe at the expense of Russia, to save civilization thru the sacrifice of Russia. A great wrong cannot be righted by an infinitely greater wrong. I would not save one Alsace-Lorraine in the West by surrendering one thousand Alsace-Lorraines to Germany in the East. Forsake Russia and end the war; save Russia and end war. On any pretext to abandon Russia to the Kaiser "without faith and without mercy," were to compound the felonies of Kaiserism which Macauley historically and prophetically described as shamelessly false. I

cannot believe that my country and my countrymen will fall so low. God and the American spirit save us and our children from such lasting shame!

We have made two great discoveries in the war. Prussia is the one and France is the other,—Prussia efficient in every art of evil and France glorious in every task of honor. We are poorer and we are richer by reason of our discovery. Poorer for we had not known that there were such deeps of dishonor to be fathomed nor that any nation would ever sink so low as to covet shame as her distinction and perfidy as her pride. And yet may we truly say we have discovered nothing new. We had thought the Prussia of Frederick the Great in evil to be dead, and we find that it has survived or been reborn, as base, as merciless, as perfidious, as in the day which found Prussia violating the sacred compact with a woman sovereign and beginning an era fated to drench Europe in blood.

But if we are poorer, we are also richer. We had not known that it was possible for any people to go through hell with head unbowed, with spirit undaunted, with soul unscathed, and to emerge from the valley of desolation "victor over death and pain," triumphant over loss and suffering. The world, in truth surveying the bloody vistas of war, is moved to make confession that the degradation of Germany and the brutalization of its people are more than made good by the gain which has accrued to the world through the moral glory that is revealed to be France, through the splendors that are France's spiritual investiture.

No half-way peace! No compromise-peace! Merciless was Germany in planning and plotting, in beginning and waging war. The justice she denied the world be Germany's lot! Germany shall not end the war when she "has had enough," when she knows that she has failed and cannot further go. If the war be ended by Germany or at Germany's bidding, the truce between this war and the next will be little less

terrible than war and even more shameful. The enemy did not force the sword into his hand as the German Kaiser lyingly proclaimed. The Allies, the enemies of war, will not end the war until after they shall have taken the weapon out of his hand. The Allied nations may not move an obsessed people to take him from the throne he has thrice defiled, but they will take from him and from his successors forever the power to bathe the world in tears and blood.

No compromise-peace! If Germany retains Alsace-Lorraine, we have lost the war. If Germany retain the faintest semblance of control over Belgium, we have lost the war. Unless the Irredenta be restored to Italy, unless Servia be freed, unless Christian Armenia and Jewish Palestine be de-Ottomanized and set free and Russia placed upon the highway of freedom and democracy, we shall have lost the war. A compromise-peace will prolong the terror of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg reign. An uncompromised victory at whatever cost may end it and free even the German peoples, though they still rejoice in their chains.

“Who counsels peace at this momentous hour,
When God has given deliverance to the oppressed?

Who counsels peace when vengeance, like a flood,

Rolls on, no longer to be repressed?

When innocent blood

From the four corners of the world cries out
For justice upon one accursed head?

When Freedom hath her holy banners spread
Over all nations now, in one just cause
United; when with one sublime accord
Europe throws off the yoke abhorred
And Loyalty and Faith and Ancient Laws
Follow the avenging sword?

Let us not forget that since the beginning of the war France has been the battlefield of Europe. For four long, terrible years, it has borne the burden and withstood the shock of present-day war. If, then, we urge that the war be won, not ended, within the fifth year, we wrong not France in holding that even France must not be suffered to endure any longer, that, willing though France may be to make the sacrifice, we will not permit the torture to continue needlessly for one hour. While it is fitting for Americans to vow, as we have vowed, that we will win the war whether it takes two years or three years or five years, it were better and finer to vow anew for the sake of France and Belgium and all the Allied peoples that we will win the war in the fifth year. Not our fifth year, but their fifth year, the fifth year to begin August 2nd! Let us war for five years, but in American fashion war five years within the next year.

And let this America's celebration of Bastille Day be prophecy that this be the last Bastille Day of France, bereft and mutilated. When the Bastille Day of the next year dawn, may it behold a pilgrimage of men and women from all lands to France liberated and liberator. And to the restored, redeemed France, restored in part by the power of our arms and redeemed in whole by the divine grace of her own soul, to France with all her children about her including her immortal dead, who were her very present help in time of trouble and will be her very present spirit in time of triumph, to France we will turn and, crowning Strassburg with wreaths of rejoicing in the place of her long-time habiliments of grief, we will say: "France, thou didst not fail liberty and liberty's children in the hour of trial. Thou didst set the world free and a world set free now crowns thee, France!" As long as men cherish freedom and justice and honor, so long will they hold in homage and gratitude and love the France of the overthrown Bastille, the France of the Marne, the France of Verdun, the France that fought and bled as did none other to destroy the Bastille that is Prussia.

“O star of France,
Dim smitten star,
Orb not of France alone, pale symbol of my
soul, its dearest hopes,
The struggle and the daring, race divine for
liberty
Finish the days, the clouds dispelled,
The travail o’er, the long-sought extrication,
When lo! reborn, high o’er the European
world,
(In gladness answering thee, as face afar to
face, reflecting ours, Columbia)
Again thy star, O France, fair lustrous star
In heavenly peace, clearer, more bright than
ever,
Shall beam immortal.”

“The League of Nations”

BY HENRY MORGENTHAU

My Friends: One of the prerogatives of the President of the Free Synagogue is to jump in in an emergency and take the place of those speakers who cannot come. Today I am substituting for Dr. Wise. Once before I addressed the Synagogue when President Taft was delayed on a train. I have since had the delightful experience of travelling with President Taft and President Lowell, of Harvard University, with Dr. Brown, Dean of the Divinity School of Yale, Professor George Grafton Wilson, Professor of International Law at Harvard and at the Naval Academy, Mr. Filene, a business man of Boston, and others. We have travelled over the broad expanse of this country; from Boston to Chicago, to Portland, San Francisco and Salt Lake City, speaking before huge audiences in each of these cities. They were more than simple meetings; they were congresses of men and women who had been appointed from almost every state in the Union to meet at these central cities and participate in a discussion as to the wisdom of a League of Nations.

When these congresses were projected, the covenant had not yet been published. In addition to talking at various dinners and to very large gatherings, some of them as high as ten thousand people, we had the unusual privilege of looking into the eyes and through them right into the souls of more than two hundred thousand fine Americans. They were taken at random from all communities and from all walks

of life. This included thirty or forty audiences in the states of Montana and Idaho whom we addressed from the rear platform. Of all the thrilling experiences I have ever had these were the greatest; to watch audiences of fifteen hundred and two thousand of these stalwart men of the West, the very bone and sinew of America, listening with rapt attention to an explanation of the League of Nations, listening so intently that as our train moved away they felt almost like following us.

All of us came to the one conclusion, that never before has the body of American citizens been so bewildered on any question and never before have the people been so receptive or so quick to respond. When I say this I do not forget that but two years ago the American citizens were hesitating as to whether or not this country should go to war. You remember, 1916, the re-election of President Wilson was due to the fact that the Democrats had adopted the slogan, "He kept us out of war," and it was the Middle West and the Far West that decided that election. Today those very people are hesitating until they shall have had an explanation of the duty of America at the present time.

I am not going to enter into any detailed discussion as to the value of the different points in the covenant. The great question before the American people at present is—Do we want to enter into a League of Nations? Are we ready to forget old traditions, old restraints? Are we prepared to realize what our present status is and what is the status of the Eastern Hemisphere? Are we going to face this question as we finally faced the question of entering the great European War or are we going to quibble? Are we not going to face it without fear, without hesitancy?

To enable me to give you a definite logical statement, it is necessary to go back to the proposition as

it faced us two years ago. The struggle of the various countries that had been drawn into the war finally resolved itself into a duel between the autocratic forces on the one side and the democratic forces on the other. Fortunately, Russia was soon eliminated. Russia was perhaps the worst autocracy of all and it was a misalliance to have Russia under the Czar an ally of the American democracy. When Russia was out of the question, any impartial person could no longer doubt what this fight was about. For thousands of years democracy, the hope of liberty, and the desires of freedom have always been crushed by autocracy. Autocracy looked upon democracy as merely weeds in the garden. They would not allow them to grow. They plucked them out by the roots and threw them aside. Yet in reality autocracy was the weed in the garden of liberty and freedom, and it should certainly have been rooted out.

What was the result? Gradually the Eastern Hemisphere became overgrown by these autocratic weeds and they killed the growth of liberty, democracy and justice. But fortunately, while the Eastern Hemisphere was gradually falling under the plight of autocracy, this great hemisphere was open to all those who wished to leave their countries; all those who had sufficient initiative, sufficient force and sufficient will to desire freedom. They left these various tyrannized countries, came here and settled in a great country full of natural resources, free from any governmental boundaries, free from the inheritance of any vendettas, free from all those old worn-out customs, the vested rights or the claimed vested rights of autocrats and of aristocratic families; they came here to this country and developed the greatest nation that has ever been created. They drew to them all those who loved freedom and justice; they generously encouraged immigration; they asked and accepted the loan of money from these very autocratic states.

And in the course of the last fifty years, after we settled our own disputes at home, we developed from a little fringe on the Atlantic, for which our great Constitution was formulated, to an empire consisting of forty-eight states which have peacefully worked together, and are ready now, as they were in 1917, to fulfill their destiny. Men have no destinies. This talk of Napoleon and William the Second being men of destiny is foolish. The people may have a destiny, and I believe that this great country is pre-destined to demonstrate through the power of democracy that it is to be the force which will usher in the great new era for which the whole world is so anxious. They have developed here in this country a force which has simply amazed the world. We finally saw that liberty was threatened and doomed to destruction, because if the United States had not intervened, the Germans would have succeeded in their mad scheme of world conquest and they would unquestionably have destroyed all the liberty-loving countries of Europe.

The question of balance of power had remained in the hands of England because she had a great navy and was able at all times to maintain her isolation and to restrain other countries from absorbing one another. She suddenly awoke, however, and realized that her control was gone. The German submarines and Zeppelins were too much for her. She could no longer feel that London, the greatest city of the world, was safe. Every night at sunset those seven million residents of London had to suspend all operations, all activities, and turn out their lights for fear of Zeppelin raids. Their coast was no longer safe. Not only was it demonstrated that England was not isolated, but we ourselves had to realize from the same causes that we could no longer feel that the ocean protected us. The fact that the "Deutschland" could come over here showed what the German sub-

marine radius would eventually become. The very fact that the United States was able without any apparent loss to send two million troops to France proved to us without fear of contradiction that we were subject to an invasion by the Germans. If we accomplished what we did, what could prevent Germany from sending from five to ten million over here and conquering us?

This war has proven other things. It has proven conclusively that any band of evil thinkers and doers can combine in securing control of the Government just as the Prussians did. In forty or forty-five years they could become a military machine which threatened the freedom of the world. What has been done once can be done again, and can be done perhaps in a more perfect and effective manner. We must also realize that this war has not been a military victory for the United States and her Allies. Germany has voluntarily retreated in good order. Her army is intact. I do not want you to think that I fear anything or that there is any cause for fear in the immediate future. Fortunately, the armistice is such that the Germans can do nothing at present. But this autocratic force is still in existence and there is still an army under Hindenburg in Germany. There are today two forces in the Eastern Hemisphere, the democratic forces and the autocratic forces, which are by no means exterminated. There is also the Bolshevist force, which is looming up strong and powerful. Bolshevism and autocracy combined are strong enough to crush the democratic forces that prevail in the Eastern Hemisphere unless they are backed up by the American democratic forces.

At no time in the history of the world have the democratic forces been enabled to develop such mature strength that they could destroy or successfully protect themselves against the autocratic forces. Now

at last it has taken a tremendous cataclysm such as the recent one to rend these forces apart. It has put four empires, Russia, Austria, Germany and Turkey in a state of disintegration. It has increased the latent power of these democratic forces that have been suppressed. We have had people from all these countries living with us for years, absorbing democratic ideas, becoming democrats and taking those democratic seeds home with them to Italy, to Greece, to Syria, to Germany, to Austria, to Hungary, and distributing them so that today this latent force, reinforced by the moral backing, the physical backing and the legal backing of our country, can for the first time in the history of the world, finally crush autocracy.

Will the American people recognize their mission? We democrats of the world are contented with the beautiful life we are leading; we thank the Almighty day after day for the blessings that He has really thrown at us, while the autocrat is at all times conspiring to retain the reins of government, to pull out by the roots the desire of the people to govern themselves. He cannot prosper; he cannot do business if democracy grows. You cannot have weeds in your garden and raise roses. The autocrats want to be the roses and they consider us the weeds. We must make up our minds that we cannot have the weeds of autocracy grow in the gardens of the future.

The American people have responded to all the calls made upon them, whether for the Liberty Loans, the Red Cross, or for the Joint War activities. All that was necessary was to explain to them just what was wanted and over-the-top they went.

It is our duty, it is our privilege to become the great Samaritans of the world, to continue this great fight to a successful issue. Now that liberty is more endangered than ever before we, the American people,

and we alone, can finally establish it firmly in the history of the world.

It seems to me that all of us who have enjoyed these rare and great privileges must recognize that we are playing a most important part in the most important historic event in twenty centuries. We sometimes do not really feel it or recognize it. It took men of the type of Demosthenes to warn the Greeks against their dangers. They did not believe him and his Philippics were of no avail. It took Cassandra to warn the people. It has been inspiring to me to see a man like Mr. Taft, who had been recognized by the country as one of the best equipped men for the Presidency (who left the Presidency almost discredited) and to note his deep affectionate devotion to the American people as he went out amongst them to tell them of the danger they are facing and to see and feel that thrill of affection that fairly bubbles over when the American people realize that he is a man of soul, of sincerity, and of earnestness.

I wish some one of these men who are opposing the League of Nations would go out and face the Americans in Montana and Idaho, in Portland and San Francisco. I wish they could see that audience of ten thousand people in Salt Lake City, ready to listen and then when convinced rising up offering their hearts and their all, passing resolutions not pro forma but with an enthusiasm as though they realized that something more than materialism was at stake. My friends, if you could only take a trip of this kind, you would realize right here in New York what the country thinks.

Our people will not refuse to give their full approval and their hearty support to the League of Nations because they realize now and they will do so more and more after they learn the facts, that this fight must be fought to a finish now. If we do not

help it fight it out diplomatically over there in Paris and help them solve the problems which seem insoluble, we will have to fight it out right in this country. We are fortunate that we are about to drop all partisanship in dealing with this problem. You cannot blame the few politicians who are still endeavoring to make this a political issue. But when they find out that the rank and file of the independents, and the independents have to be reckoned with, and the rank and file of the Democrats and Republicans, that all these three are absolutely in favor of undertaking for America, for Europe and for all future generations to solve this problem, those men will all come in and say, "All we want to do is to make a few suggestions as to some little details." Let them make them and they will be adopted. But the thing for the American people to do is to assert themselves in such unmistakeable terms that they will be heard not only throughout this country but also throughout Europe, China, Japan, Africa, and all other countries; to have them understand that this great moral country, this wonderful unprecedented force for good that is lodged in the American people, is going to be used to solve this great problem.

“The League of Nations”

BY ABRAM I. ELKUS

Ladies and Gentlemen: The newspapers carry the information that in this war seven millions of men were killed in order that the war might be won—seven millions of men, not old men, not men advanced in years, but seven millions of men in the very prime of life and with all their life and life's ambitions before them.

This information takes no count of the countless millions who died of disease and illness engendered by the war and the conditions that war breeds. It takes no count of the millions upon millions of young men wounded and maimed so that they go through life but a shell of what once they were.

When we read and ponder upon such a story, we cannot wonder that all thinking men turn their minds, when the first flush of victory is past, to some solution of the question whether such catastrophes in the world must go on, or whether they can hereafter, if not be prevented, at least be minimized.

It is no new thought, this idea of preventing or minimizing wars: Almost since the dawn of history, great men and rulers have essayed to form some plan by which war might be prevented or the causes which

bring about war done away with. Many men have studied the problem, many men have written, many men have formulated theories, but none, alas, has been successful.

So today, with the cheers of victory still ringing in our ears, thinking men are turning already toward the problems which have arisen from the fearful sacrifice of human lives and the trying of human souls.

It has been a glorious victory for America because it means the re-establishment of those wonderful principles we have always stood for—liberty and justice and freedom. And with the cheers of victory still ringing in our ears, we believe that not one life that was sacrificed was wasted, that not one man who bears a wound or a maim has suffered in vain, because those things were achieved. Still with this thought in our minds, thinking men are turning already toward the prevention of this waste of human life and human soul.

A peace to be maintained, if peace can be maintained, must be made by agreement, by covenant among those who make war and destroy peace. It may be true, it is true, that no agreement that men may make whether it be men among men or nations among nations, because nations are but made up of men—that no agreement, no matter how great the statesman be who conceives it, no matter how astute and acute are the minds that draw it,—no agreement can be drawn that has no flaws in it, that cannot deliberately be broken if either party to it rudely and brusquely determines to break it.

But that is no reason to thinking men why an agreement should not be made and why men who have honor in them should not endeavor to live up to agreements that they consummate.

And so today the thinking world is faced with the same problem that men in their everyday life have faced each day. What can be done to prevent future ruptures in the world? Can they be prevented? Or must we go back to the old days that existed before that cataclysm which has lasted these four years? Must we go back to nations vying against each other, to raising great armies by conscription or other means, to denuding nations by great drafts upon their finances and their resources, to maintaining great armies, to maintaining great navies, so that one country always will be an equal with another whom it rivals in force?

Or is it possible for human beings, for men and women with souls within them, to agree among themselves that certain things must be covenanted to bring about, if not a cessation of war, at least a diminution of the causes of war?

Today the whole world, the whole thinking world, eagerly acclaims any man or any nation or any group of men or group of nations who may bring forth such an agreement to be considered by the people.

Now, such an agreement is before us all for our consideration, for our criticism, for our opposition or for our approval. Error there may be in it, omissions may exist in it, just criticism may be directed against its form or against part of its substance, but the idea and ideal, which is the foundation of it, which is the

root of it, remains: that there may be an agreement among the nations of the world, so that if there be wrong-doing by one people or one nation against another, if there be cause for complaint by one nation or one people against another, if there be aught that calls for criticism of one nation against another, there may be not the only arbitrament hitherto known, war, the killing of men, to decide whether one nation is right or wrong, but the terms of an agreement.

It is claimed that by entering into such an agreement America is violating the injunction laid down by Washington that we should not engage in entangling alliances, particularly with foreign countries. We all revere the memory and the advice of the great leader, but when Washington spoke and wrote conditions on the American continent were far different than now. We were then a little group of thirteen states with a population not half as large as the City of New York. It required ninety days at best for any one to journey from America to Europe or to receive communications. There were no steamships, no airships and no other means by which we were immediately in touch with the happenings of the world. We were a nation of farmers, able to supply most of our needs. We had little foreign trade and no foreign interests. Different conditions cause different rules, and that would be a sufficient answer to all criticism; but a careful reading of Washington's injunction will disclose that he does not prohibit a League or Covenant for Peace, such as is proposed. It would not be an entangling alliance, but one to secure conditions which would avoid such an alliance.

We all abhor when we read, as we used to read, only too often, that men who disagreed in their views of life or who had some quarrel or dispute decided the justice or injustice of the quarrel or dispute by killing one another. No man justified it, no sane man justified it. And nations do things that individuals condemn.

Can nations be right when individuals are wrong, since nations are made up of the individuals who compose them?

The nations of the world seek to do what individuals long since have done, creating law and order and justice for peoples and nations just as we have created them for the individual.

When this great nation was founded, made up in its beginning of a loose Confederation of thirteen States, all the students of history and law in the world prophesied its early downfall because it was based, not on power, but on justice—on law and order. And yet the nation grew and the thirteen little States with a population of but three millions grew to a great nation, a great and powerful nation, with forty-eight States and great territories and dependencies and a population today of one hundred and ten millions. It grew and flourished because the guiding and the cardinal principle underlying it was the rule of justice, not the rule of power. The rule of might prevails not here, in the main, against the rule of right.

Now it is said that to endeavor to have a League of Nations or to have a covenant gathering together all the peoples of the world is but a dream, an ideal. It is said that it cannot be realized, it is all but a

dream of a dreamer! It is an easy way to dismiss a serious problem, to say it is but a dream. We have lived in these years just passed to see so many things that were announced as dreams come true!

Who would have dreamed a year ago that when America entered this war, this great hidden force, this great power that lies in America, would be great enough to send on the other side of the water those millions of our young men, to arm them so that they might fight and win a victory for justice? Who would have dreamed six months ago that while you sit here, American soldiers would be keeping the peace in the German City of Coblenz on the Rhine? He would have been said to be an idle dreamer, but yet that dream came true.

And who would have dreamed six months ago that as you sit here today our wonderful flag that we all love and honor so much, that has become so much brighter in these last years, would be floating proudly over those wonderful fortresses supposed to be impregnable, unconquerable, in the City of Strassburg in Alsace-Lorraine? And who would have dreamed six months ago that a great monarch, a great despot ruling with an iron hand over seventy millions of people, whose slightest wish was law, whose people trembled when he nodded or frowned—that this despot today would be a fugitive in a strange land awaiting the edict of justice to be passed on him by those people and the representatives of those people whom he then sneered at and affected to despise?

Who would have dreamed a year ago or a few months ago that the dream of the man who was said

to be a dreamer President would come true? That out of the horrors of this war this dream would take form, and the dreamer himself present his dream to the great Congress of the representatives of nations? And that it was not to be received with sneers as a dream, but as a reality, putting into form what was in men's hearts as an ideal that might come true? And this is a time when dreams come true, when ideals become realities.

We of the old, old faith, this old Jewish faith of ours, we more than others, for many reasons, should be idealists. We should believe in dreams. One must needs look back to the Prophets of old, beginning with the great law-giver of Israel, Moses himself who dreamed dreams that came true and who evolved a series of laws that have become the foundation of law for the civilized nations ever since, and those singers of Israel who dreamed those dreams of wisdom and justice, which have been the foundation of great principles of all civilized peoples ever since.

We have other reasons, more material ones, to believe and foster this dream of a covenant of nations making for peace, because it means that throughout the world small peoples and small nations and parts of nations and parts of peoples may have given to them that justice and freedom which, sad to say, the world has denied. We want to believe that the oppressed peoples of all lands, in all climes, may have justice done to them, and that they, too, not only may be free, but have a place in the sun in which to live. And we know what oppression means, some of us, we know; for one can never understand what

oppression means until one has lived in those lands where peoples are ground down under the heels of oppressors. And to those peoples and those who know of them, to those like us who have in our hearts the traditions of oppression, this ideal and this dream stand out as a guiding star.

I said it was true that we, the old peoples of the Jewish faith, we look to ideals. One has but to read the prayer of the day when we pray for the time "when unbelief shall disappear and error be no more; when corruption and evil shall give way to purity and goodness; when superstition shall no longer enslave the minds, nor idolatry blind the eyes; and when all peoples of the earth shall perceive that to Thee alone every knee must bend and every tongue give homage."

It is an ideal that we have not only prayed for, these five thousand years, but have suffered and died for. It is an ideal that, now the world has won this wonderful war, will mean soon a new war, a war not to kill but a war to preserve humanity.

And the League or covenant of Nations, formulate it as you will, is but the turning of that page in history which we hope is closed forever; the turning of the page of violence, of brute force and brute strength, and the opening of another page, a fairer and brighter one, upon which may be written not the victories of war, not the triumphs of force, not that Might wins, but what peace brings with her victories, what justice brings with her triumphs, and, above all, what Right brings—the Right that supersedes and stands above all.

President Wilson and the Peace Conference

Having been in London and Paris during the period of the President's visit and having seen something of what was going on, I could sum up in one sentence my thought touching what President Wilson has done in Europe. No President, going back to 1789, and not forgetting 1861-65, has rendered a service of greater or more permanent value than that of President Wilson in going to and having part in the Peace Conference.

I am not thinking of the personal position which President Wilson has won in Europe, though that, too, is occasion to Americans for proud joy, but of what Wilson's place in Europe means to the world. I cite a wholly hypothetical case in order to illustrate how great is the power which he has come to exert. What if the Allied governments had suddenly resolved after the war to disregard and even to repudiate their war-professions, and to embark upon joint and several Imperialistic enterprises? Given the sane moral judgment of the peoples of England, France and Italy, President Wilson could on this hypothesis than which nothing could be farther from the truth, have withstood the governments of the Allied nations. Putting aside this monstrous hypothesis, it might be said that President Wilson is greatened in stature through the investiture of American prestige, and American pres-

tige is enhanced because it clothes the person of earth's foremost statesman.

It is not easy to say that here the power of the President of the United States ends and there the strength of the man Wilson begins, to resolve the President's unprecedented prestige at this time into the factors of official and personal authority. It might be put that President Wilson on our behalf is keeping the faith which the peoples of Europe placed in America. Nor is it wholly dishonoring to the President, despite a multitude of increasingly vocal Presidential candidacies, that even the peoples of the defeated lands put their trust in him, that in some part because of his leadership nothing less than justice, however stern and terrible, will be meted out to them.

It might be said that the President finds his surest strength in the knowledge of the Allied nations that the war could not have been won as it was won, without the help of America, in the understanding of the Allies that America commands and is ready generously to expend vast resources of serviceableness, in the conviction of Allied governments that America will give up continental isolation for no less a cause than such direct and effective participation in the shaping of international relations as will humanly avert war through establishing justice.

And two things more! In the confidence that America's voice is as disinterested today as it was in the hour of America's advent into the war, though America has sworn to her own hurt, she will not change, and above all in the determination that the Peace Conference shall not adjourn without laying the foundations of a League of Nations. It may be that

because of partisan plea and unvisioning Senatorial quibble, America does not yet share this determination. If so, it is because America has not been war-racked throughout a thousand years and more, because we were not scourged by this war as was every warring land of Europe.

Something like Wilson's unique power was needed at this hour in Paris. For after all it should not be lost out of mind that the Allies have not always been Allies,—that within a century there have been some rather serious differences between, let us say, England and France, France and Italy,—that nations cannot for four years and more remain in closest association under war conditions without irritation and misunderstandings of one kind and another coming into being. And, facing the facts frankly, even Allies may have clashing ambitions despite unity of purpose.

Europe is agreed that nothing could have been happier than the very circumstance of utter objectivity on the part of one of the Allies. Putting it differently, President Wilson on behalf of America came to the side of the Allies in conference with a fresh American point of view, not to mediate, as was unfairly said, between the Allies and Germany, but *sine ira et sine studio*, without fettering prejudices or blinding ambitions, to insist in the firmness of comradeship rather than the truculency of superiority that major ends be not obscured, that every one of the Allies expected the other no less than itself to adhere to the high objects of the Allied program.

Thus one of the foremost figures at the Peace Conference said to me: "There can be little hope for European peace unless your President succeed in

moderating the claims of———," mentioning one of the Allies. We know that no serious differences are likely to arise among the European Allies. But if they should, the President's unique power in the processes of composition and adjustment would make itself felt for the good of Europe,—perhaps in the saving of the world.

Of course, Europe does not know the President's shortcomings,—that he would rather think than talk,—that he imagines quiet thinking indispensable to the management of great affairs,—that he suffers bores sadly rather than gladly and tries hard not to suffer under them at all,—that he refuses to convert the White House into a public and political restaurant,—that through injudicious pie-distributing he fails to make Party capital out of every political appointment,—that he holds himself sternly aloof from those seductive influences of Washington which are Washington rather than American,—that he takes his public utterances so seriously and with such little sense of humor as to insist upon having them treated as if they were programs of national action. In one word, that he is singular and unconventional to the point of unaccountability,—that he is most disturbing because his habit of thinking things through keeps him from those unalterable finalities of judgment which are such a comfort to non-thinking statesmen.

One circumstance I found was perplexing to the Allied peoples. They are at a loss to understand the causes of such uncritical criticism of the President by Americans as somehow gets itself reproduced or paraphrased in the European press. Thus educated Englishmen, Frenchmen and Italians were aghast over

a series of obviously inspired attacks upon the President purporting to be unpurchased and unsubsidized American opinion at a time when as the head of the American Peace Delegation Wilson's way was hard enough without the "help" of improvised obstacles.

Europe does not understand that Presidential elections cast their shadows before,—that not a few gentlemen in Washington semi-occasionally represent Bunkum County and that the handling of foreign affairs is really such a new business in America that its niceties are often unregarded and its delicacies scorned by such rough-shod American statesmen as fear a Democratic triumph rather than the failure of democracy.

While in Paris, it came to be said that phalanxes of the President's critics would there appear in order to give support and furtherance to any and all opposition to the Wilson policies. The phalanxes have thus far proved to be nothing more than a very small group of inveterate Wilsonphobiacs who fondly hope that Paris may mark the scene of their resurrection from political desuetude. The phalanxes of words are going back. Americans scornfully smile at those creatures of a day who are prepared to succeed the President if the country call loudly enough in return for the service of "finishing him" in Paris.

It may not be very long before the American people will apply the terms *moral treason* to the aims and acts of that coterie of gentlemen so eager to "smash Wilson" as to forget that he is still the President of the United States, meeting in councils of utmost delicacy and difficulty with representatives of countries other than our own. But one must not forget

that there is some satisfaction felt abroad over every American attempt to "show up the President." The non-German Prussians of London, Paris and Rome take comfort in the sayings and doings of their fellow-Prussians in America. Prussians have a common tongue whether their native speech be English, French or Italian. Its accents are always unmistakably Bourbon.

In coming to know President Wilson, Europe has been enabled to understand the high purpose and idealism which lay back of that expression of American energy, the American Army. For Wilson is what the American Army did. The American Army was the idealism of America in action. President Wilson is incarnate of that American soul which the American Army worthily uttered. Americans ought to rejoice that their country is represented in the sight of all the world at this time by one who, above all things, is an interpreter of the mind and spirit of America, who is America at its best and highest, who is of the American people, for his manner is their manner, his mood is their mood. In all he is and does, he is at one with the soul of America. This simple straightforward man who, like Lincoln, says exactly what he thinks and thinks long and exactly before he says, is a democrat by conviction,—I had almost said, by passion. Democracy with him is not a matter of pose, nor pretense, nor parade. Democracy for him is not a vote catching device, but the deepest conviction of his being. I remember some years ago when I had the privilege of speaking by his side while yet he was Governor of the State of New Jersey, to have heard him say to a company of men and women,

exclusive rather than democratic in their tastes, "I do not ask you to forego your desire to remain apart from the world. I cannot expect you to admit everybody into your charmed circle, but is it too much to suggest that you admit samples of everybody into your association?"

No man can truly know President Wilson who does not understand that he has done one thing all his life, consistently, thoroughly and straightforwardly. His views have matured, for happily he is free from that inflexible dogmatism which is the token of an unacquisitive inhospitality of mind. But for twenty years it may be said that he has done one thing, whether as President of Princeton, Governor of New Jersey, President of the United States, America's Delegate to the world's Peace Conference.

At the University he fought with the unquailing courage of a man for the elimination of those things of caste and class which have no place in a democratic society of letters. Therefore, the State of New Jersey summoned him to the post of Governor, which, in turn enabled him to strike mighty and liberating blows against the malign combination of low politics and high finance, which was choking the life of his Commonwealth. From the Governorship of his State, America called him and he became, not the head of the Democratic party, which is not always worthy of the name it bears, but the trusted leader of the liberal democratic purposes of America's national life.

It may be that people of European lands do not know that the most precious asset of the Allied cause in America was the faith of America's millions in Wilson's leadership, which fell to him in large part

because of his achievements on behalf of a more completely democratic Commonwealth in the years before the war. The masses in America trusted Wilson and followed him because they knew that he did not will to war for war's sake, that as long as he remained the leader America's purposes in the war would remain uncorrupted and untainted, because of the deep conviction among America's toiling masses that Wilson warred not for war's sake, but for the sake of justice and that when once the war was won he would war as mightily for peace as he had led the nation by the side of France and all the Allies to war for victory.

I have been asked scores of times by people in Great Britain and in France, "What of the opposition to President Wilson?" Let not Europe be deceived about this opposition and let not the mistake be made of magnifying it unduly. Most of the opposition is nothing more than a domestic diversion and not to be regarded seriously by outsiders. Strangely enough, at the very moment when President Wilson, through Col. House, the wisest of counsellors and friends, was masterfully making it impossible for Germany to go on, some American folk declared that Wilson might too mercifully yield to Germany. He did. He yielded to Germany,—such right to surrender as ends, perhaps for all times, the menace of Germany on land and sea.

As an American, not as a friend of President Wilson, I would point out that there is an opposition to President Wilson in America. It is the opposition of partisanship which forgets that America has a great part to play upon the theatre of international action.

the opposition of those reactionaries who fear President Wilson, not because he is an impracticable idealist, but because he is a too practicable idealist who has a genius for translating democratic ideals into immediate democratic practice. The reactionaries are ever ready to forgive the aimless, purposeless idealist. But they cannot forgive this man, whose power of translating idealism into reality is as rare as it is irritating. It is not the academic Wilson who is not loved but the achieving Wilson who is dreaded.

There is too the opposition of the lesser men within his own party whose very existence men might forget were it not for their opposition. To them that do not know President Wilson any man who, like the writer is an American, may say that the strength of Wilson is the strength of America. Not vainly nor boastfully, but rejoicingly we point to this man and we say of him as another said of Lincoln, "He was God's gift to America; he is America's gift to the world."

I lingered long enough at the London Guildhall meeting to note how deeply the President had impressed the sober company of British celebrities by what even in a land given to honest speech seemed a daringly frank statement of American resolve. In France, the President was honored with a name that almost harked back to the Honest Abe of the '60's,—Wilson the Just. In Italy, the surging, reverent, grateful throngs all but unnerved this strong and quiet man,—such was the mad enthusiasm of the people in city after city as they acclaimed *Il Presidente*.

But these are collective testimonies, the witness-ship of undeliberative mobs. So be it! A Frenchman of highest name said to me one afternoon in

his Paris study: "In the moral world, there are no great and small nations, for a moral society implies the equality of the great and the small. Your President more than any other man will be the author of the new moral Society of Nations." An English statesman, a judicious man, unaddicted to hero worship, said to me: "Clemenceau speaks for France, Lloyd George for England, Orlando for Italy. Wilson more than any other man speaks for humankind. He seems to think for America and of all countries in the terms of humankind."

Since leaving Paris, and especially since my return to my own country, I have thought much of this man, this American of Americans, who is the Ambassador to the Peace Conference of the hope of the human race for an order of world justice,—and I have come to see that he perhaps has never been better described than in the word of a comrade of a war shipyard, spoken to me last summer: "We plain fellows trust the President, for he is our man. He belongs to us. That's why we follow him and work in the war. The people like myself will help him to win the war and then he will help all the peoples to win and keep the peace."

The story was told to me in London that on the eve of the final advance of Allenby's armies, which, let us hope, for all time de-Ottomanized Palestine, the commanding General, who is the Foch of the Eastern campaign, turned to his brigadiers and colonels saying: "Gentlemen, you are to have no local objectives. Your objectives are the whole of Palestine and the entire Turkish army." Such, it seems to me, are the vision and the grasp of President Wilson, a vision

which he proclaimed before the war was won, a vision which he will not relinquish because it is won. No local objectives for him, such as an Anglo-American understanding, such as an Anglo-Franco-American entente, though these things in truth are! No less an objective than the League of Nations, implying the establishment of those two great objects of the world-war which stirred the pulses of civilized peoples, justice from the greatest and most powerful of nations, justice to the weakest and least of peoples.

The cynics at home and abroad coldly smile at this man and his reputed panaceas, which may possibly be not only curative of war but preventive of some, in any event, of war's causes. But the peoples, too, are become cynical,—cynical touching the quality of leadership under which the world has long agonized; and half in hope and half in hopelessness the peoples are beginning to turn to this man and the great hope, which, he has finely said, touches earth with a new prospect. And they say,—“Let us try this man. The old order has not worked. We are sick unto death of it. Who knows?” And back of their cynicism are not only the tragic memories of 1914-18 but faith above all in one man, his vision and his will. The man is Woodrow Wilson.

“The Jewish Question”

The Jewish question is certain to come before the peace conference, not in one way or another, but in all ways. If it be true that the Jewish question is a moral barometer, then the conference cannot decently evade the responsibility of meeting and solving those interwoven questions which together are involved in the Jewish status.

The peace conference of 1919 will differ from the peace conference of 1878 in that no such dazzling by-gifted Jew as was Disraeli is dominant in its councils—though Disraeli's service to his people was one of good will rather than of achievement. Self-revering Jews such as the writer hold it to be the happiest augury that the attitude of the peace conference to the Jew will be determined not by the power of any outstanding Jewish personality but by the moral necessities alike of the Jewish problem and the professed purposes of the conference itself.

The Jews are at one and the same time more and less happily circumstanced in 1918 than in 1878. More happily, in that the world has in part because of the war and the things for which the war was fought reached higher levels of international principle and practice than those which governed the Bismarck-dominated procedure of 1878. More happily, because the dominant powers of 1918 are not the Germanic nations which, because of the nimbus of the 1871 triumph, were still in the ascendant in 1878, but the two English-speaking commonwealths and the two Latin democracies, which have brought to a triumphant close man's supreme struggle—for freedom.

Less happily, on the other hand, are Jews circumstanced today because Russia, land rather than home of half of the world's Jewry of yesterday, is

gone for a time in any event, and because of its temporary—it must not be permanent—decline, the great Jewry of Russia that was is broken up into a series of Jewish fragments which find it impossible to speak with one voice. Less happily, yet again, because the center of the world's unrest is that eastern Europe which includes nearly two-thirds of the Jewish people, so that it is tragedy upon tragedy for the Jew that they whose homes and hearths were oftenest scourged by the ravages of German-Russian alternations of victory and defeat, still find themselves at the center of a storm zone, which an infinite complexity of international circumstances makes it all but impossible to succor.

This helplessness of storm swept eastern Jewry means that the heaviest share of the burden of world-Israel must be borne by the American Jew. It is good that the American Jew is able and ready to bear the burden, as a result of the growth not only of the Jewish community in American life, but of its deepening consciousness of responsibility for the Jewish status the world over. American Israel has risen to the high occasion, which summons it not merely to give unstintedly of its material resources but of that capacity for leadership which the needs of a generation of stress and turmoil have evoked from its life. Brandeis and Mack, Morgenthau and the Strauses, Marshall, Elkus, Frankfurter are names that represent the higher statesmanship of the Jewish people.

Last of all, and yet, perhaps, most important of all among the happily furthering circumstances of the Jew in relation to the peace conference, is the truth that the most significant Jewish community in the world today is a part of that nation which has become most potent in the world councils and most eager to inaugurate the era of reparation to the Jew in the only form in which the Jew demands reparation for centuries of wrong and hurt by him endured—namely, justice. It is a little less

than miraculous conjuncture of events that, in part because of its finely loyal and passionately devoted Jewish population, the American people is bent as no nation has ever before been bent upon writing into the code of the world's practice the statute and status of justice, even handed and changeless, to the Jew.

Honoring witness to the reality of world progress is to be found in the fact that the Jewish question need not be put by Jews, and yet must be answered by the peace conference. For one thing, as already indicated, half of the thirteen or fourteen millions of Jews dwell in that east European zone which was swept by war a dozen times, and now is ravaged yet again by those lesser wars which are not lesser in their hurt to their victims. The conference may not adjourn without taking into account and firmly grappling with the difficulties of an unlocalized Balkan problem, the Jewish question. Some there are at the peace conference who are utilizing the facts of the Bolshevik terror in order to excite the wrath of Europe assembled in Paris against them, and thus to avert a solution just and equitable of the Jewish question. But statesmen at Paris worthy of the name understand that Bolshevism is not a Jewish phenomenon, but a Russian symptom of European unrest, and that, though a handful of Jewish renegades led by Trotzky are among the leaders in Bolshevik counsel, the great mass of Russian Jews are the bitter and implacable foes of Bolshevism, even as they were great hearted and gloriously forgiving in their loyalty to the Russia which had long scourged them.

As far as I could gather from the general temper of the peace conference and learn from its leading personalities, English, French and American, there is a general resolve to do what in the conference lies to bring order out of the Jewish chaos, and, better yet, to make it possible for Jews everywhere and under all circumstances, to reorder Jewish affairs.

There is nothing millennial in the temper of the

conference which moves it to deal justly by the Jew. It so happens—and the happening is far from fortuitous—that Jewish claims have long been identical with and anticipative of allied aims, and are therefore wholly conformable to the purposes of the peace conference. Thus, the first of the inevitable demands of the Jew, submitted to the conference, is no demand at all, but merely the insistence that as the Jew is dealt with and as he has long fared in the four great victorious lands, so shall he be dealt with among all nations that are to become signatories of the peace pact. In other words, that which is the right, not privilege, of the Jew in lands victorious shall be exacted on behalf of the Jew in all lands which ask to be included within the pale of international peace and brotherhood.

It is the more necessary for the peace conference to insist upon including equality of status for the Jew in the code of all nations which are to be admitted into the world covenant because it was in the defeated lands that, save for Russia and Roumania, prior to the war the Jew fared worst. Two ugly and loathsome things found their birth or rebirth in central European lands, militarism and anti-Semitism. The connection is not a matter of chance, for militarism, unchallenged and triumphant, is bound to breed just such antisocial phenomena as anti-Semitism. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that a league, or the League of Nations would suffer any member to continue those practices of inequity and discrimination which are nothing more than the legal codification and incorporation of the spirit of anti-Semitism.

In truth, it had been thought by some of those with whom it fell to my lot to deal among the representatives of the governments of England, France and America, that a clause in the constitution of the League would so stipulate against discriminatory statute and practice on religious and racial grounds as to insure the unalterable equality of status, political, civil, religious, of Jews in all lands that seek admittance within

the family of nations aiming to do justice within and without their borders. It remains the writer's confident hope that the written covenant of the League will not fail to make mandatory and inviolable in all lands that charter of equality which the allied nations have inscribed upon their own statute books.

A second problem must be faced by the conference, and this, like the foregoing, is not essentially a Jewish problem, though it have a Jewish aspect. National self-determination versus Prussian domination was the issue of the war. Prussianism spelled for the world the terror of external domination. Any domination, howsoever imposed from without, will long and justly be branded as Prussianism. National self-determination is one of the goals of the peace conference, but is not wholly attainable in those lands which, as a result of the flux of centuries of migration, conquest, permeation, are made up of diverse national and racial units, inextricably bound up with one another within the limits of territorial sovereignty.

The unliberated Poland of yesterday vainly strove for a century to achieve those minority rights which Russia, Germany and Austria were a unit in withholding from their Polish elements of population. Despite this appalling injustice, the indomitable Polish spirit maintained alive and unbroken the tradition and genius of Polish nationality. A score of such minorities made up of other racial and national units will be found among the reconstituted nations of the morrow. What Poland justly asked, the world of nations must in justice grant to every racial group or minority within its own life. Because I am a friend of Poland and rejoice in the too long deferred revival of the Polish nation, I devoutly hope that Poland will be guided by the example of her century-long oppressors, and not only because of conference mandate, but because of the compulsion of her own tragic experience will grant to the very considerable Jewish minority within the Polish republic that measure of self-determination which is wholly compatible with national

loyalty and makes in truth for the strongest federation of racially and religiously varying elements.

The third Jewish question before the peace conference is the question of Palestine. The world, save for a handful of American Jews, knows that the spirit of Jewish nationality has never ceased to be, though Roman invaders expropriated the Jew from his national home nearly 1,900 years ago. The question before the peace conference is not whether there shall be a Jewish Palestine, but what form that Jewish Palestine shall take politically and how best it can be developed from within and safeguarded from without. Somehow the heart of men turns to Great Britain and summons the British government and people to take upon themselves the burden of trusteeship under a League of Nations for a Jewish Palestine. Britain does not seek such trusteeship, but the will of the nations is fixed upon such consummation of the world's faith touching the ancient home of the Jew, that it may again become a homeland of the Jewish people under those inviolable guaranties of the League of Nations, which Britain may be counted upon to secure.

A Jewish Palestine means that Jews are to be enabled at the earliest possible moment to lay the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth under the fostering and sheltering, and may I not say reparative, guardianship of the League of Nations. The future of the Jewish commonwealth the world cannot shape. The event must rest in the hands of the Jewish people. It remains to be seen whether, as we have long believed, the Jews will be equal to the opportunity not merely of physical re-establishment in their ancient land, but of spiritually recreating the best and noblest in Jewish life and tradition. It will be not the least of the glories of the peace conference to have framed the charter of hope for the Jewish people, to have at one and the same time proclaimed to the Jew freedom in all lands, and above all, freedom to rebuild the waste places and to make the Holy Land of an earlier day rich with fulfillment of prophetic promises of justice and righteousness between man and man.

Zionism and Zion

Zionism has ceased to be, for Zionism implies the necessity of a movement in order to bring the possibility of the establishment of a Jewish or Zionist Commonwealth before the eyes of the the world, Jewish and non-Jewish. I may say without fear of contradiction that the establishment of a Jewish Palestine under the League of Nations and with the trusteeship that must obviously be granted to Great Britain is just as truly before the mind of European statesmen, and above all of American statesmen in Paris, as any other question which lies before them today.

Let it suffice to say that the wholly sympathetic and favoring attitude of President Wilson and Colonel House and their associates of the American Peace deputation—and herein they represent the good-will and conscience of America—is shared by such European statesmanship in England, France and Italy and the lesser Allied lands as counts.

Two things will come out of the Peace Conference, and these two things after all are among the main objectives of the war. The overwhelming of Prussianism was nothing more than a means toward this high end or these high ends. These two things—and they are almost interchangeable, are the establishment of a League of Nations, and the securing of independence for the smaller nations. If the war had not been fought in order to create such an alliance among the civilized peoples of earth as would make the peace of justice possible hereafter, it would have become necessary for the Allied nations to devise a method of guaranteeing and perpetuating the moral and political achievements of the war. The League of Nations means that the great nations, including our own, England, Italy,

and France, which have won the war, understand that in the future the right of a people to live is not to be determined by the size of its army or the might of its navy, but by its own will to live, the will to live predicated upon those conditions of nationality and history which are the test of the reality of the claims of a people to live its own life.

Upon one thing I wish to comment without delay because it involves the acceptance of certain inexorable burdens. One grave disadvantage under which the Jewish people rest in relation to the Peace Conference is the status of the Russian Empire, involving as it does a division of the greatest Jewry in the world for a time in any event into a series of relatively lesser Jewries, and the consequent failure of the great Russian Jewry to exercise in itself and through a free and united Russia that power which would have been sure to have fallen to the lot of Russian Jewry. This means one thing—that the task of leadership rests upon American Israel and the task of supreme service falls to the lot of the American Jew. If the Russian tragedy had been averted, Russian and American Jewries would together have taken the lead in organizing world-Jewry and in securing those ends upon which the Jewish people is bent. In the circumstances of the breakdown and the break-up of Russia, the chiefest responsibility for the Jewish future rests upon American Israel, upon the statesmanship of its leaders, upon the capacity for service of all the people.

The position of Jews in respect to the Peace Conference of 1919 is a very different thing from the status of Jewry in 1878. Since 1878 not only have the Jews come to command a high place in the life of all the civilized peoples but the world assembled through its representatives at Paris dare not forget that Jews have greatly and nobly served in the armies of all nations, and that is true even of the Russia of the old order.

The happiest circumstance connected with the Peace Conference arises out of the fact that Jews have no special case to present to the Peace Conference. In other words, we do not and will not appear before the Peace Conference as special pleaders. The world has moved since 1878, for the war that has just ended has been fought for the fundamental convictions and contentions of the Jew. What we have long held to be our right, the Allied world finally found it necessary to defend at infinite cost of blood and treasure as against the intolerable invasions of justice by Prussianized Central Europe.

I cannot bring myself to believe that it will be necessary to argue or to plead on behalf of Jewish equality of status in European lands before the Peace Conference. A Peace Conference that would suffer a repetition of the Roumanian fiasco of 1878 would be a crime against history and the cause for which the Allied peoples have bled. If the victory of 1918 mean more than a military feat it must mean the end of those disabilities and inequities and injustices of which the Jew has too long been the victim in many European lands. Surely it is not chance that the nations that are together to decree the future of humanity are those in which the Jew stands out as enjoying equality of status with his fellow-citizens. America and England, France and Italy will not do less than insist upon bringing within the domain of legal status that position which the Jew has of right long enjoyed in these lands.

In the third place, it must be borne in mind that the four nations which after all are the leaders of the Peace Conference, are England, France, Italy and our own land. Great Britain has a tradition of nearly three centuries of wholly just and even generous treatment of the Jew, an attitude culminating in the Balfour Declaration of November, 1917.

As for France, I have not only confidence in the leadership of the people of France, but I have reason to believe that the French Government will not stand in the way of a just and equitable solution of the Palestine problem at the Peace Conference. There may be elements in France which are eager for territorial advantage and industrial opportunities, but I will not believe that France, which better than any great nation knows what it is to suffer the denial of justice, will fail to insist that the oldest of the Irredentas, the Jewish Irredenta, must be restored as the Jewish homeland to the Jewish people.

Is Palestine at once to become an independent Jewish State? I answer, no! We may not hope for any such outcome of the Peace Conference. What we may hope for, what we have reason to believe will come to pass, what we ought to look forward to with grateful satisfaction is that Great Britain shall receive from the League of Nations a mandate which will confer upon Great Britain the power and responsibility of trusteeship for a Jewish Palestine.

The rest of the picture it is for us to fill out, for after all the future of the Jewish Palestine will not be a matter of Conference and of Charter. The Balfour Declaration did not restore Palestine to the Jews. The League of Nations cannot re-establish the Jews in Palestine. What may be hoped for is that under the League of Nations and with the furthering help of British trusteeship there will be such a re-occupation of Palestine as will in itself constitute the foundations of that Jewish commonwealth which under God is once again to arise in the land of Israel.

Bolshevism and Jews

Much of so called Bolshevist and pro-Bolshevist sympathy in America has been and continues to be pro-German or anti-Ally. The movement may in some part have been born out of unrest and social revolt, but its methods were criminal and its effect pro-German. As for the number of Jews who are said to be Bolshevists, I call attention to the familiar figures of Prince Lwoff and Kerensky—namely, that ninety-five and ninety-nine percent respectively of the Jewish population of Russia were anti-Bolshevist. The strongest Jewish Socialist organization in Russia, the Bund, is the most powerful and implacable foe of Bolshevism.

Why are so many leaders of the Bolshevist movement Jews, though uniformly apostate Jews? The answer lies in the fact that the leaders of Bolshevism are uniformly Russians who had been exiled, and who returned to liberated Russia. The largest number of exiled Russians was made up of Jews. For most of those who for a generation had been driven out of Russia as menacing to Czarism were Jews. Therefore the apparently disproportionate number of Jews in the leadership of Bolshevism corresponded almost exactly to the hugely disproportionate number of Jews, who had been exiled and scourged out of Russia under the reign of the Czars. •

Though it is true beyond the peradventure of a doubt that the great and overwhelming majority of Russian Jews are anti-Bolshevist, it must be admitted that some of the Jews of Russia, who have long been outlawed have at last become outlaws. The hand of Russia has been against all Jews and the hand of some Jews is now against Russia. It is the plague of Jewish homelessness that has in part come upon the head of Russia. The minimum of

natively law-abiding and orderly Jews, who have become infected with the poison of Bolshevism, is a warning solemn and terrible to the world that a people cannot forever be dealt with after the manner of outlawry without lapsing in some part to the level of the outlaw. The miracle is not that some Jews should raise their hands against Russia but that hundreds of thousands of Jews should have taken up arms on behalf of the Russia, which had wronged and denied and crucified them for generations.

It is the tragedy of my people that nine-tenths and more of the Jews of Russia are and will remain among the most bitter and formidable enemies of Bolshevism and only a handful of recreant Jews become identified with it. Yet the vast majority are overlooked and the handful are dealt with as though they represented the whole of Jewry and their crimes charged against the whole Jewish people. This is the Jewish tragedy that every Jew must bear the burden of one and that all Jews must suffer for the sin of a few Jews. This is the everlasting crucifixion of the Jew, this the vicarious atonement of which the Jew is the victim of victims, that all Jews are damned because some Jews may be damnable.

The fact that the Jewish Bolsheviks are almost uniformly disloyal and renegade Jews makes clear anew that the Jew, who has ceased to be Jew, who has lost his Jewish anchorage, who has given up his relation to Jewish life, is the one Jew who is potentially menacing to the world. At whatever end of the social scale, Jews who break off all association with their people, who lose their ancestral anchorage, who drift racially rudderless and spiritually starless, threaten to become derelicts upon the seas of social being. The Jew who cuts himself adrift, who renounces his faith and takes himself out of the stream of Jewish life, is ever in peril of that

attitude of mind and soul which at one end of the scale produces Bolshevism and at the other end those contemptible soulless snobs, who give proof of their spiritual homelessness and want of moral anchorage by renouncing as far as they can, and sometimes even denouncing, the Jewish associations and relationships of their life.

It must not be forgotten that, though Russia had been not a home to six million Jews but a hell, though Russia had not been so much a country and a defender as an enemy and oppressor to the Jewish people, the Jews of Russia were fine enough to see that Czars and Czarism were not Russia, that Russia was something nobler than a handful of creatures putting Russia to shame and inflicting infinite hurt upon her subject-races. And so with the spirit of magnanimity which the world is pleased to call Christian, the Jews of Russia, with practical unanimity gave themselves and all they were and all they had to Russia, to the Russian cause, to the Russian armies, and rendered Russia a service which will forever stand out as a very miracle of loyalty and forbearance.

As an American Jew, when the war came in 1914, sharing the mind of several million American Jews, I felt that the only thing for the Jew to do was to forgive the wrongs that he had suffered in Russia and to stand by Russia to the end, whatever that end might be. As a Jew as well as an American, it seemed to me that the Jew must be great and magnanimous enough to forget his lesser wrongs, if lesser they might be styled, in the face of the greater wrong, which Germany, the foe of freedom, threatened to inflict upon the whole human race.

It must not be lost out of mind that the Jews of America had not chosen to leave Russia. They were driven and scourged out of Russia, and for a time it would have been more than human if they had risen to the height of complete forbearance

touching Russia, which had stoned their men, violated their women, struck down their children. It is not to be wondered at that, as long as the Romanoffs retained control, some Russian Jews in America could no give their wholehearted allegiance to the Allied cause. And still they were more loyal to the Allied cause than the Romanoffs and the Russian court circles, for these and their agents were in collusion with Germany and a Russian victory over Germany would, under the Czar, have meant no more than a Russianized form of Prussian domination. When the day of liberation came, and Russia had shaken herself free from her intolerable masters, then the Jews of Russia were the first to dedicate themselves to the cause of liberated Russia and the Allies, and American Jews, Russian-born, stood ready in that hour as today they stand ready to support the cause of free, democratic, de-Bolshevized Russia as one of the great company of the Allies.

No group of Americans hopes more devoutly than does American Jewry that out of the war will emerge a Russia not disrupted and dismembered, not prostrate and penniless, but a Russia united, democratic, powerful, free, the one hundred million and more of whose inhabitants shall become one of the mighty, forward-looking democracies of earth. There will be no peace in Europe until there be peace in Russia, and the Peace Conference must not deceive itself that it has established peace until after order shall have been brought out of the Russian chaos of today. There never will be peace in Russia until after the dethronement of that group of men, who are not the representatives of democracy but its destroyers, men who, far from being servants of the people and furtherers of their welfare, are in truth as menacing to every real interest of the peoples of unhappy Russia as were their Romanoff masters of hideous memory.

The existence of Bolshevism in Russia and the threat of it in other European lands is being made to serve as justification for every manner of reactionary group combating every manner of democratic progressive movement. In the guise of combating Bolshevism, reaction in America as well as in Europe is striking at those forces which spell not Bolshevism, but wholesome, sound democracy. It might have been possible for President Wilson and his associates of the Peace Conference to wage vigorous and effective warfare upon Bolshevism if it had not been for the circumstance that the peoples of Europe rightly or wrongly believe that Bolshevism is being used in order to strike down every tendency in the direction of social progress and justice. To illustrate what I mean when I declare that in many lands Bolshevism is being set up as an excuse for combating the democratic tendencies of the world's life, I need only refer to the ludicrous circumstance that some members of the United States Senate speak of the League of Nations plan as another symptom of Bolshevism. To these gentlemen let it be said that we war upon Bolshevism because it spells anarchy and anarchy is the undoing of democracy. But we are not ready to join hands with those who are opposed to Bolshevism not because it is lawless, but because it threatens to bring nearer the day of a completely democratic life.

As for the assassination of Eisner the Bavarian Premier, who was a Galician Jew as Trotzky is a Russian Jew, it was Eisner, the Jew, who almost alone in Germany dared to put the blame on the right shoulders, and to say that the guilty party in the world-war was not the Allied world, but Germany and Austria. For the sin of speaking the truth unafraid, Eisner, the anti-Bolshevist, paid the penalty with his life, shot down by some miserable princeling who felt that his caste was dishonored by the exposure of the truth through the medium of this Polish Jew. Though Eisner has written his name

upon the roll of the immortals in that he dared as no man to tell the truth about Germany, why does not the world ring with the praises of Eisner, the Polish Jew even as it reverberates with execrations of Trotzky, the Russian Jew? Is the Jew to be named only when he is guilty of crime and be unnamed and unremembered when he has wrought great good to a people and for the world? Trotzky is not a Jew but a social aberration, a social perversity such as Romanoff-cursed Russia knows how to beget. I do not maintain that every Jew is an Eisner, and that he would not in any company be an exceptional being. But true it is that he is less exceptional than is Trotzky. Trotzky, though born a Jew, is anti-Jewish in every fibre of his being, and Eisner was greatly and supremely loyal to the moral tradition and the spiritual genius of his people.

"America and World-Peace"

For the most part, I write not the thought of my own mind but the thought of every manner of my people with whom during a recent visit to England and France I was enabled to discuss the lasting objects of the war. No one could ever forget the depth of feeling revealed by a distinguished Englishman, who, discussing the possibility of an enduring peace, put it: "The war must not degenerate from the holy crusade that it was and become in the latter end a conflict of unholy aims and a clashing of sordid national ambitions."

He went farther than do most Europeans of his high station in that he feared that the Conference might offer the world a peace comparable to the war-breeding arrangement of 1815 or the damnable pact by which in 1871 Germany sealed her own doom. He was fearful lest it be impossible to save noble France from an ignoble self and to help Britain to be true to Britain at her highest and thus to avert the making of such an unjust peace as would be certain within a decade or a generation to become the seed of another war.

Let not Americans be deluded into imagining that the League of Nations is an academic dream or a professorial device, which a diletante statesman is seeking to foist upon a reluctant world, a world that may unjustly be coerced by reason of the power of the nation which that "amateur peace-bringer" represents. The formation of the League of Nations is

the inescapable hope of the human race unless it is again and again to be ravaged by such war as has visited the world with woe.

The League of Nations means that the great and victorious Powers accept the self-denying ordinance not to indulge in that manner of imperialistic practice which would have been the inevitable sequel of the war in an earlier day. The League of Nations, or the attempt to create it, means that the Allied peoples hold in the day of victory as they maintained throughout the days of struggle that they fought not only against Prussian soldiery but against that Prussianism which would enthrone the dominion of might, corrupt and enslaving, over the world.

The overwhelming of Prussianism was nothing more than a means toward high ends. The war's two high ends,—and they are almost interchangeable,—are the establishment of a League of Nations and the securing of inviolable independence for the smaller nations. If the war had not been fought in order to create such an alliance among the civilized peoples of earth as would make the peace of justice possible hereafter, it would now become necessary for the Allied nations to devise a method of guaranteeing and perpetuating the moral-political achievements of the war.

The League of Nations means that the nations, including our own, England, France and Italy, which have won the war, understand that in the future the right of a people to live is to be determined not by the size of its army or the might of its navy but by its own will to live, that will to live predicated upon those conditions of nationality and history which together are a test of the validity of a people's claim to live its own life. In other words, the League of Nations means that the future peace of the world will not be constituted by any delicately balanced division of great Powers but that it is to grow out of the

recognition of the rights of the smallest nationalities and the duties of the greatest and most powerful of nations. Its establishment will be the test of sincerity of the Allied Powers in professing that they warred for the liberation of the smaller nationalities, for the unimpairable independence of the lesser peoples. If there be no League of Nations, none of the smaller nationalities can long remain secure.

I found little division of opinion among such representatives of European peoples as I met touching the question whether a League of Nations would come into being. The question in London and Paris alone was, When? When will *a* League of Nations, created for the purposes of war be converted into *the* League of Nations for the maintenance of peace? Among widely varying groups of men and women I came upon the conviction that the League of Nations if established today would be born under the impulse of generous motives, of gracious friendships, of selfless ideals. Why, then, should its establishment be deferred to a later date when, if it be not too late, the world may be touched by motives less fine and exalted? The world today is in the mood of high expectancy, faces the possibilities of world co-operation with generous ardor.

Several European statesmen made clear to me that the alliance of the nations that have won the war was far from sufficing to the interests of peace, for, as one man put it, fighting side by side does not permanently make nations comrades, war does not breed indissoluble alliances, and coalitions bred of war are transient and undependable. A statesman-philosopher rested his case for some manner of League of Nations on the ground that the peoples of earth would be held together, if at all, not by the fact that they had fought together but by the unifying circumstance that in the spirit of equity they seek to stand together

and to maintain those inheritances of the race which war ever imperils.

What any man could glean who held converse with the peoples and their leaders was that Europe stood in a new relation toward America. True, one heard here and there some graceless caviling about our belated entry into the war, but England, France and Italy know that the war could not have been won without us, even though their own was the major effort and sacrifice, that America made two mighty contributions to the victory, one physical in the form of her army, the other moral or spiritual in the form of that reinforcement of Allied purpose and will which made victory inevitable. America's new place in the sight of the world, a new place which means an almost decisive potency in the councils of peace, arises out of a number of primary causes, — namely, America's unquestioned disinterestedness, America's power of service, the faith of the Allied peoples in the leadership of America, and the resolve of Europe that this peoples' war should be crowned by a peoples' peace.

Little less potent than America's will, if America is to achieve one, is the spectre of the peoples of Europe standing at the outer gates of Paris. The dread thereof was translated into the terms of the mordant epigram,—either the Peace Conference will establish a League of Nations or the peoples will league themselves together to disestablish the Peace Conference. A Peace Conference which failed to create some such instrumentality of peace as the League of Nations would be swept out of Paris before its voluntary adjournment, and, if it achieved the triumph of a voluntary adjournment, its decisions would be made null and void by a world which is resolved that peace will be made for the peoples or that it will be made *by* the peoples.

Europe expected opposition to the League as far as the tentative text of the binding covenants was concerned, opposition in other words to the form or instrumentality in which the League would be cast. Intelligent, constructive criticism in America to the League of Nations proposal was anticipated by the Allied nations. No one proposes—least of all President Wilson,—that one hundred million Americans commit themselves to what in truth is nothing less than an extraordinary departure from American precedent and practice because of Presidential fiat. But the criticisms that are being urged ought to be something other and more than utterances of personal ambition or conventional partisanship.

Europe, which knows war as America does not, Europe which has suffered from war as happily America has not, has scantier patience with those groups which in every land are inevitably ranged in opposition to the League of Nations proposal,—the militarist caste, not as obviously pervasive in American as in European life, but none the less threatening within the narrower limits which as yet here circumscribe it: the ruling classes, which are even though the order of Kaisers has become extinct, which imagine that a flourishing international militarism is the surest safeguard of inequitable practices: militarists whose extra-national appetites cannot be satisfied unless army and navy be at the command of their market-seizing, concession-hunting, debt-collecting procedure: the munition-makers whose fond hopes evolved out of the last four years the newly proposed order threatens rudely to disturb.

Yet another class will be stout and unyielding in its opposition to any proposal which aims to perpetuate and to extend the terms of the alliance achieved during the years of war.—those who cherish the kindly illusion that even as America and Germany warred

yesterday, so under the dispensation of a beneficent and unwearied propaganda, America and England and America and France may be led to war upon one another on the morrow. No American will favor a League of Nations who is disturbed by the prospect of a permanent and unimpairable relation between our country and England on the one hand and our country and France on the other.

The opposition to the League of Nations which for a time obtains in our country would not seem any more serious than it really is if it were not for what I know to be true,—namely, that it is misunderstood and magnified by the European masses, and that, if this misunderstanding grip hold upon them, they may be reduced to unrelieved despair. This opposition is in danger of being capitalized by those Bourbons of the Allied lands to whom the bitter opposition in America to the League of Nations offers a new, howsoever illusory, hope. But more serious than aught else is the fact that Europe's confidence in America of yesterday may resolve itself into suspicion to-morrow and, if such unfaith in America fasten itself upon the peoples of Europe, bitterness will be deepened and the sense of revolt intensified even among those whose hope of justice-bringing peace frankly rests upon the integrity of America's purpose and the unwithstandable power of America's resolve.

I remember to have mentioned to a group of folk in France that the League of Nations may be no more certain of bringing peace than was the Hague Conference. "Yes," sadly answered a father who mourned a glorious son shot to earth in a battle in the skies, "but there was no world-war before the Hague Conference which sought to avert what might happen and no to prevent the recurrence of what has happened." And yet another member of the same group quietly answered, "Say to your countrymen we know that no League

of Nations can guarantee peace but the absence of a League of Nations will be a guarantee of war's renewal."

In order to understand the hunger of Europe for this instrument of peace, one must know, as it was given to some of us to see for ourselves, something of the price which Europe has paid,—a price which, save in the terms of things, we were not called upon to pay. I name only a few items of this unutterably tragic price-list,—the scarred and scourged countryside, the graves of the innumerable dead, the unborn children of Europe's bravest and noblest, the shattered and mutilated millions who have survived the war.

Is there not some danger of imagining that war will hereafter find advocacy among the several millions of American youth who have either been actually engaged in combat or were being prepared to have part therein? Speedily indeed will the returning soldiers of America disabuse the minds of those who suffer under the delusion that America's veterans of the world-war are ready to plunge into any new war that may happen. No body of men in America may in the future be counted upon to oppose war and to stand rocklike against any tendency in the direction of militarism as that group of America's sons who have looked upon war and supped upon its horrors.

Is it not true that the American and European peoples face a common situation. The war came, the world being forced to war by warring Germany. The nations did not enter the war in order to create a League of Nations but in order that they might live free from the brutal rule that threatened. They went on; they might have gone out. They suffered all that men could suffer. Then out of the depths they began to hope that if they went on they might somehow end war and make this war for peace the war against

war. After two years, we entered the war, giving to the Allies anew a sense of invulnerable moral strength. The Allies said of us,—these will help us to win and after that we will together end war. This hope made the impossible possible, the conviction that if the peoples went on a way could be found and would be found of making war unnecessary in the future.

The peoples, including our own, face a clear duty seeing that they went into war in order to assert the ineluctable sanctity of treaties, to safeguard the lesser peoples, to make the world safe not only for democracy as a political order but for morality as the social order. Now the time is come to do all three things through that League of Nations which is to be the treaty of treaties, which better than all else and perhaps alone can make secure the life of the lesser peoples, which can make a moral and democratic order attainable among the nations.

Militarism and democracy cannot co-exist in one nation or in one world. One only can survive and be secure. German militarism sought to destroy world democracy. It will pursue that aim as long as it be free to do so, for no nation is beyond the empoisoning reach of militarism which may yet sweep the whole world if it be not stayed by the League of Nations.

How serious are the objections urged against the new world pact and covenant that the League of Nations involves the abandonment of American sovereignty and compels us to concern ourselves with affairs not our own? The American Republic arose out of a partial surrender of lesser sovereignties. We placed our army as did England its army under the command of a French marshal. Now we are asked to place ourselves under the joint command of the League of Nations. It is the League of Nations that will hereafter avert the conscious surrender of sovereignty

from within or the unwilling invasion of sovereignty from without. Through the League of Nations, it becomes possible for us to extend the sovereignty of the American ideal throughout the world. Far from the Monroe Doctrine being vitiated by the rise of the League of Nations, through taking a part therein we will lay upon ourselves the ordinance of observing the obverse of the Monroe Doctrine,—that is, that we shall not violate the sovereignty and independence of any one of the smaller nations of the Americas of which we are to become and of which we must remain trustees.

As for abolishing our traditional status of isolation and remoteness from the rest of the world, through entrance into the League of Nations, the truth is that we found ourselves under the necessity of abandoning such policy two years ago in order to wage war, in order to defend civilization from the aggression of Prussianism. The question for America is not, whether we shall have part in the League of Nations but whether we shall maintain a quasi-isolation interrupted by increasingly frequent excursions to other continents in the interest of war, or whether we shall waive what is no more than the theory of American isolation in order to keep the world peace. We leagued ourselves with the Allies in order to destroy the menace of Prussianism. It is for us to enter into the League of Nations in order to avert the rise of Prussianism anywhere or at any time hereafter.

Europe understands even better than do we the question that America must answer,—shall we remain in Europe to keep the peace or go to Europe from time to time in order to wage war?

The time to disentangle ourselves was in 1917,—that is to stay disentangled or unentangled. We chose to entangle ourselves and they pressed hardest for entanglement who would now block the way of the

League of Nations. The time of choice, our new-made friends in Europe feel, is gone by. They think we made our choice in 1917 and they cannot bring themselves to believe that we are not prepared to accept its consequences,—namely, that the fate of the least of peoples is our inmost concern, that a wrong done anywhere to the least of peoples cries to us as to all free peoples for redress.

As well as I could, I sought to explain to men in England and France how difficult it would be for Americans to assent to the mandatory system which is involved in the League of Nations, but their answer in turn was unanswerable,—namely, that in theory and in practice the mandatory system would mean that instead of the great Powers taking over and retaining lands and peoples who for a time required guardianship, these will be given mandates of trusteeship over them. This will be the visible token and symbol of the self-denying character of the ordinance of the League of Nations subscribed to by the great Powers. Without a League of Nations and the spirit which prompts it, who knows how long the time would be or how short before the peoples of Asia Minor might be swallowed up and Turkey again be helped to her long-time criminal domination and the unchecked power of assassination by her long employed. Instead of that, the League of Nations would create a system of trusteeships and the very terms of the League and the spirit of the nations therein combined would prevent these trusteeships from becoming proprietorships. Ultimately there would of course be freedom for the peoples under trusteeship mandates.

I asked a great American whether he believed America would ever be ready to accept a mandate in a remote continent of the world. His answer was, "I cannot believe that America would be willing to claim all the advantages of the new world order without

accepting some of its heavier responsibilities." And what is more, America's acceptance of a mandate would involve the setting up of a standard of disinterested service and furthering trusteeship to which the nations of the world would repair.

Shortly before I left France, I turned to a French statesman and asked him whether the League of Nations proposal would be seriously affected if America failed to accept it. These were his words, slowly and solemnly spoken: "There would be no League of Nations. The best fruits of the victory would remain ungarnered. There would be war and war and war, after which wars and their attendant desolation some kind of a League of Nations would be evolved." "And is there no alternative?" I pressed. Again the mournful reply,—“The old balance or disbalance of Powers, the renewal of secret covenants, the building up of mighty armies and navies in another madly competitive armament scramble, and after these things war.”

What of the alternative proposal that we police the Western hemisphere and leave it to Europe to maintain the peace of the Eastern hemisphere? The answer might be given that in the moral world there are no hemispheres. He who proposes that the American Republic insist upon its own sole dominance within a hemispheric League of Nations justifies the gibe of Shaw, who was reminded by some half-hearted allegiance to the League of Nations ideal of Tennyson's "Half a league, half a league onward."

America must accept the responsibility, for it is ours. We can make the League; we may break the League. If it fail, we shall be answerable. We went into war with clean hands. Thus far, we have emerged from the war with empty hands. Now we may do more even than that. Leave war behind us not with empty hands untainted by booty and unstained by spoils, but with hands that are full of blessings to all the peoples

of men. Only one nation can avert the coming to pass of the League of Nations, and that nation is our own. America will be trebly damned if, though its leader has had it in his hands to bring about the creation of the League of Nations, America shall have failed him and above all its own moral genius.

“The Adventure of Life and Death”

My text is borrowed from that Bible verse according to which the children of Israel were bidden “to go forward”—in other words to adventure to their fate, not knowing what was to go before and only the crushing bondage they were to leave behind. “Forward!” was their order, their marching order, and they advanced toward and even into the unknown. Thus setting forth under the Divine impulse upon the adventure of many centuries, they yet live whilst the unadventuring and afraid have failed to survive. Daring all to lose, they have in this divine adventure of two millennia and more naught but gained.

In truth it is more easy for men to understand the adventure of life and death than it would have been five years ago, for we have within these years lived through the greatest of the adventures of humankind, an adventure forced upon a world at peace by them destined to be its tragic victims, an adventure dreaded at the outset and in the end solemnly welcomed by the peoples venturing all in the resolve to lead men from under the shadow of a sword ever brutally threatening. Adventure has a familiar ring in the ears of mankind. It is no longer a verbal echo of long-forgotten things. Adventure has ceased to be a matter

medieval; it is become the very essence of modernity everywhere.

Adventure may be defined in two ways, or rather adventure is interpreted on the one hand as that which happens, that which befalls one; on the other hand, it is that to which one fares forth. The difference might be referred to the difference between two attitudes toward life—the attitude of him who is active rather than passive, the attitude of him who is agent and subject rather than victim and object of circumstance. The only life worth while is the life of him who adventures, the life in other words which is self-determining and self-directing.

Does the bidding to men through adventure to make of fate one of life's circumstances rather than to view circumstance as of the finality of fate clash with the primary faith of men—"Thy will be done." Nay, for this aspiration aims not to convert mankind into a mob of will-less automata but rather to move men to live and strive as if at one with, even of, the Divine will. Obedience to God never implies invertebrate acquiescence in whatsoever is but transmuting whatever is into unison with the Divine purpose. God wills not that I will not; God wills that I will even as He wills, and that only after I have done and dared the uttermost shall I be ready to assent "with God be the rest."

Truly the whole of life depends upon our interpretation of the measure and spirit in which man may adventure, whether life is to consist of that which happens to us or of the temper in which we happen upon, yea front and shape, life. To many life seems but a lottery, some manner of game, and is lived by them as if there were nothing more than chance and

will were naught. These view not life as a race in which men set out to reach a goal toward which they press throughout their days nor yet as a battle in which men struggle lest they be overcome, but solely as a game over which chance alone holds sway.

Care must be taken to distinguish between things which are alike in sound alone—adventure and adventures. Adventures are the pastime of those whose is not the fibre of adventure, those who have no stomach for the tough food of adventure. Adventures rush in to fill the vacuum left by the absence of the spirit of adventure. Adventure is high and adventures are low; the one is precious and the other cheap; the one is holy, the other trivial; the one selfless, the other selfish; the one permanent, the other passing; the one immortal, the other perishably fugitive.

If life is to be lived in the spirit of adventure, it is needful that the soul be ready to fare forth in obedience to the inner summons, that it have capacity for daring, for risking, for enduring, and that over and above all there be a purpose and program bigger than the interests of one's own life, and at the end not the resignation of death but the serene consciousness of life's close. We have seen in the years now ended that the adventure of life is often bound up with the risk of death. But all to dare is ever all to gain, whatever the possible outcome of the soul's hazard. Greatly to dare is greatly to adventure.

"Safety first" is death to the soul when it behooves the soul of man to court risk and to challenge danger. The greatest of life's adventures is that in which a man knows how imminent may be the call to the last.

Such was the recent adventure of our youth. These, our heroic lads, found life sweet and joyous, yet each said—It is better that I give up skies and song and laughter and my days of hope and toil than that freedom should die. Thus they rose to the stature of him who sang ere he died, "Now God be thanked who has matched us with His hour." What if well-meaning folk had gone to almost any soldier of our armies across the seas and sought by way of comfort and reassurance to minimize the risk involved through citing the low percentages of war's mortality and stressing the recoveries of the wounded? Such a youth would quickly have hushed his sorry comforters. The soul that truly adventures glories in the risk. He little dares who would not face the fact of peril.

An adventure is not only for the soul of the individual. The history of the last five years has shown that adventure must at times become the emprise of a whole nation unless it is meanly to perish. Some nations facing the gloomy forebodings of failure and consequent destruction sensed the right and rushed to do all that doth become peoples prizing their souls above their sales. Some there were who chose the evil side, yea who willed the strife. Other peoples there were who calmly calculated consequences and in the end, viewing the matter after the manner of an unmoral contest or wager, avoided choosing sides. These gained a world of profits but came nigh to losing their souls even as they lost the honor which comes with consequence-scorning adventure for immortal things. In time the world will forgive the children of their foes. It can never forget the taint of neutrality which stained the souls of the unventuring peoples.

Can any man fail to see that the history of Israel is the mightiest and perhaps the bravest collective adventure of the centuries, the adventure of them that sallied forth for freedom and for nearly three thousand years have been light-bringers to them that walked in darkness, though their selfless devotion to the task of proclaiming liberty to the sons of men has not shielded them from hurt at the hands of the world. And it is of the heart of Israel's adventure that it end only after men's chains everywhere are broken. America is yet another adventure in the realm of the spirit, not a place somehow governed, but the adventure of them that believed that men were fit for self-government, that mastery ever enslaves and that the freedom of self-mastery alone liberates. And the essay of America fitly began with that pilgrimage in the field of collective self-reverence and self-control the tercentenary of which is soon to be celebrated, the pilgrimage of those pioneering souls that adventured from across the seas into the very midst of utmost peril that exile might thereafter be the lot only of such as would enchain men's souls.

Truly it is not less meet for nations to be equal to adventure than for individuals. We have just emerged, though not wholly victorious over death and pain, from the greatest adventure a nation ever braved—an adventure which tasked our soul, withal promised nothing save the joy of service to world-freedom. And lo we are summoned to another and in some respects greater adventure, the adventure of world-partnership, that the peace of men may not again lightly be broken. It is an adventure that calls for the spirit, not unheeding but unafraid of the pioneers. The adventure of war and its sacrifice pledged us to the lesser adventure of peace. Yea,

this may prove to have been in vain unless we now dare to serve peace by the side of our Allies as we joyed to serve shoulder to shoulder with them amid war's perils. How can we hesitate unless we are to sink to the level of the undaring who care only for themselves, for their individual and collective security?

The adventure of death may be said to raise questions not unlike those asked by the adventure of life. No life of high adventure can be lived in the terms of resignation or surrender at the end. Resignation is to do nothing more than to give life back at last as man needs must. But the adventure of death asks more of me than that I let go that to which I can no longer hold fast. Resignation is nothing more than an item at the end, is, shall we say, the background of the stage upon which the last of this life's adventures is enacted. I give back, but I must do more than give back the framework of life given me. I do not resign. Rather do I hold and cling to a great hope. I do not merely suffer life to slip and fade out of my grasp. I return it plus that with which I have elected or been enabled to invest it, and over and above all I keep my faith undimmed. If this were all and death were beyond peradventure the end, still should I will to face death as a great adventure beckoning in one form or another to all at the end.

For us it is, and most especially for us of the House of Israel, whose primary faith seems much shaken, to have a new viewpoint, to take a new attitude toward death. Let us cease to think of death as if it were a token of defeat, a symbol of utter and irretrievable disaster. So to view the fact or process of death is to turn to the clock and the yardstick as if these were

life's only standards of measure and evaluation. So to think of death is to dishonor life.

In the years of my ministry I have come time and again upon such as death has touched to sorrow. These cry out of the anguish of their hearts—it is not for ourselves that we fear death but we dread the thought of death in relation to our loved, the parting from them which it spells for a time and it may be forever. But these forget that the highest, noblest, wisest love, which must needs be sacrificially self-forgetting, would no more deny the loved the greatest adventure of all than wise and selfless parenthood would deny to a child any adventure to which life summons.

The adventure of death—is it not the last of life's adventures? It is in truth the adventure of adventures and should so be hailed. It differs not from any other adventure of life save that we face the certainty of our adventure thereunto without being free to choose the hour of the inevitable rendezvous. I never resort to the soothing commonplace—what all men have endured, we, too, may safely adventure. Rather do I ask—who amongst us would wish to escape the greatest of adventures? I am often moved to wonder at the bedside of the dying whether we do not insult the dying by the little deceits and dissimulations which we practise touching those whom death is about to claim. I am wounded whenever dying is robbed of its dignity and its majesty. For my part, I should loathe such lethal lying as would rob me of the knowledge of the imminence of the supreme adventure. I should feel insulted in my dignity as a man, that I had been reft of one of my rights if I were studiedly denied the knowledge that the great adventure was for me at hand. Life is no more truly

my birthright than it is my right to know that I am about to set forth when the hour strikes. As for another, let the adventure of death signify hope unfaltering and love unafraid: as for self, mine can not be less than courage unquailing and trust unafraid.

Shall we not have learned the lesson which to teach, though they knew it not, our soldiers gave all? They did not wish to die for they were young and they had barely tasted of life's cup of joy. They were willing to die for something better and higher than living, to face the great adventure on behalf of the cause the triumph of which alone could keep life clean and savory.

Not very long ago, I visited one of the larger cemeteries of France where sleep our deathless sons. The graves faded from before my vision and in their place I beheld an army of America's youth, who had lived for the highest, fought with the bravest, and paid the uttermost price for the freedom and peace of men. That cemetery within the walls of which let them for all time sleep who have hallowed the soil on which they died is infinitely more than a collection of graves. It is an altar before which men laid down their lives that men's hearths and altars might nevermore be defiled by the demons of the sword—a pledge of the better hope for mankind which these dead have won at the cost of cruel suffering and unutterable sacrifice. Above all, this shrine of the immortal youth proclaims as with the tongue of angels the nobleness of the adventure of life to such as highly adventure, the immortality of the outcome of the adventure of death to such as have lived and died unafraid. It is the adventure of life, it is the adventure of death, which together constitute the Sacramentum Supremum of which the poet sang:

"Ye that with me have fought and failed and fought
To the last desperate trench of battle's crest,
Not yet to sleep, not yet; our work is nought;
On that last trench the fate of all may rest.
Draw near, my friends; and let your thoughts be high,
Great hearts are glad when it is time to give;
Life is no life to him that dares not die,
And death no death to him that dares to live.

Draw near together; none be last or first;
We are no longer names, but one desire;
With the same burning of the soul we thirst,
And the same wine tonight shall quench our fire.
Drink! to our fathers who begot us men,
To the dead voices that are never dumb;
Then to the land of all our loves, and then
To the long parting, and the age to come."

“The Awakened Soul”

A little girl once asked the question: “Where are people’s souls before they die?” The artless question serves to make clear the thought that children of a larger growth, as well as very little children, are wont to associate the soul only with death and the beyond life. The disembodied soul is associated with the life to be as the soulless body is assumed to be a part of the life that is.

I confess, even though my admission may seem shocking, that I am not deeply interested in experiments which seek to prove the possibility of connection between life here and the spirit life beyond, although it is only fair to add that I believe in the open-minded quest after truth, and that experimentation in the direction of the ascertainment of facts is always to be desired. I should be far more interested in experiments conducted either from the other side of life or from this, which would aim to ascertain not whether there are any living spirits beyond the grave, but whether there are any hither side of the grave. I tremble at the thought of what the spirits yonder would find if they sought to ascertain whether there were any living souls here.

Men and women are greatly concerned about the immortality of the soul, who somehow seem to think that the soul can take care of itself—as if its continuance in life were a matter of inevitable necessity. Immortality as a fact always seemed to me less important than immortality as a process—to use the term of a religious teacher of our time. The fact of

endless life were not as important as the self-preparedness of the soul for endless being. And sometimes it appears as if some were greatly concerned touching immortality, who appear to be quite ready to do everything possible to deaden their souls and to slay their spirits here and now.

The awakening of the soul, like every spiritual fact in the universe, is a becoming rather than a being, not a step to be taken once and forever but a process of life-long duration. It is good to note that the use of the terms soulful, wholesouled, soulless bears witness to the faith of men that, though a man have all things and yet have no soul, he is nothing. "Soulless" is the last word of condemnation of a human being.

It is good for us to understand that the summons that shall awaken the soul of man may come in any one of a hundred ways. There are a myriad channels through which the divine spirit may pour itself into the life of man. The soul of one man is reawakened by the vision of the beauty and wonder with which God clothes himself in the world without; the soul of another man is quickened to life by the self-revealings of God in the deeds of history; yet another man's soul is stirred by hearing the voice of God within. Let us not say that the soul of man cannot thus be awakened, for it may be stirred and roused in any one of a multitude of ways. We might almost say that every soul has its own way of being summoned to wakefulness. A high joy may awaken the soul, and yet the sleeping soul may be aroused by a deep and terrible grief. The supreme happiness of love is not seldom the quickener of the soul. It may even come to pass through the reading of a noble book, through the hearing of some heroic and self-effacing deed, through the sudden understanding of the heaven-high heritage

of the sons of God, of man's immeasurable spiritual potencies.

It is not enough for me to awaken and to keep awake my own soul. Once I become conscious that I have a soul, I dare not forget that my brother has a soul, my comrades within my home and all men near and afar. In helping to awaken the souls of men, my own shall come to life. It may have been given to me to awaken the soul of another through some act of service, through some ministration of love, through some deed of forbearance. This is, in truth, to love one's neighbor as one's self.

The soul's awakening may come through the nobleness of a high friendship. Who of us has not been touched by this experience? Yea, this ought to be the very condition of friendship. But there is no awakening of the soul such as that which comes through the transfiguration of love. This is love's redemption, this is love's redeeming power.

Parents must bring themselves to see that, if they have but begotten a child physically, they are its debtors. A child becomes debtor to its parents, or rather we should say that the authors and begetters of a child become its parents, only after it owes to them such awakening of the soul, as is the real birth of child or man. If thy soul be not awake, thou canst not awaken the soul of thy child. Dare not to wrong the soul of thy child by leaving it unawakened.

Not seldom, as we have said, comes the awakening of the soul under the pressure of parting, grief and loss. We have seen this in the homes of the mighty. It is not less true of the homes of the lowly and the humble. The tragedy of overwhelming and chastening grief is almost less terrible than the tragedy of a grief which is unennobling. Alas for those touched

by the hand of sorrow, who change their outer habiliments instead of changing the inmost habit of their souls. But let it not be imagined that the awakening comes solely in times of stress and crisis, though the process of awakening may seem to culminate in life's critical and crowded hours. The awakening could no more begin at such a time than it could end, though it may seem to reach its climax and consummation in the hour of the soul's test and challenge. Neither can there be anti-climax in the life of the awakened and conquering soul. The prophet finds Elisha at work and, casting his mantle over the youth, awakens his soul and sends him back to the fields. The man whose soul is awakened is not taken from his work but sent back to his work and rededicated thereto, be it little or great, high or humble. The man, whose soul has been awakened, will give himself to his life's task with new zeal, with redoubled earnestness, with heightened consecration. The mantle of Elijah is thrown upon his disciple while the latter is laboring in the field; the soul of Moses is awakened at the sight of wrong, and is committed by the visible presence of God to the high leadership of a suffering people.

Manifold as are the ways in which the soul is awakened, the awakening means ever that the soul is touched and quickened by the God-consciousness, the consciousness of that high invisible life that may be my own because of my sense of relation to the Most High.

The awakening of the soul is known by many names—the religionists speak of it as conversion, the rationalists name it enlightenment, the mystics speak of it with awe as illumination. But by whatsoever name it be called, the fact is unmistakable and its signs are sure. Thus it may be predicated of the summons which bids the soul awake that it never suffers the

soul to renounce duty, to shirk responsibility. It bids the soul meet duty and meet it bravely, court hardship, invite suffering, and even dare death, and that is the test of the genuineness of the summons which reaches the soul.

It almost seems as if the use of the term, the soul, were unwise, for men are apt to imagine that the field of the soul lies chiefly, if not exclusively, in religious prayer and meditation, and the attitudes of worship, forgetting that the sphere of the soul is nothing less than the whole of life, that if the soul be, it must guide and touch and transform life from its center to its outermost rim.

In a play of deep spiritual beauty presented upon the stage some years ago, the passing of the stranger symbols the return of the estranged soul taking up its own again. When the soul is estranged and dethroned, nothing is left—we see the poor, empty shell of life which is left behind, and nothing more. But when the estranged soul is brought back and re-established, it fills life full to overflowing. Fine and subtle are those touches in the play, which avoid any declaration that the soul is awakened. But we see and feel and sense that something has happened in the life of every one of the men and women to whom their long-estranged souls have returned. Every one of them undergoes a sea-change—the vain is humbled, the acrid softened, the greedy mellowed, the impure cleansed, the quarrelsome calmed, the imperious humbled. It is the awakening of the soul that has brought the transformation in every case.

I have chosen to use the term, the soul's awakening, because it is important to see that the soul is often benumbed, that it lapses into inertness, and that it can be awakened only through conscious effort and

remain awake only as that effort is continued. How shall a man know whether his soul is awakened? He who would have his soul awake is awake of soul. Let man know that he has a soul; given such knowledge, the awakening is sure to come. But we shall not have awakened of soul until we know that we are the possessors of immortal souls, for, short of such knowledge, there can be no real and permanent awakening. Does not Carlyle tell the story of the men who became grinning and chattering apes and lost their souls because they forgot that they had them?

Multitudinous though the ways be, as we have said, in which a man's soul may be awakened, and widely different as are the summons which come to men, we may be certain that the tides of the higher life cannot pour themselves into my own life, if I have clogged and choked the channels of my being. Neither can men ever experience the awakening of the soul until they understand the passing character of earthly possessions and the permanent character of the things of the soul. In a word, there must be an understanding of life's relative values. The soul which spends itself in the quest of things not worth while is not awake. That soul alone is awake which spends itself and is spent in the quest for the things that are worth while. The curse of life is that things are ever suffered to be in the saddle and to ride mankind instead of mankind being in the saddle and riding things. The rich are smothered by an over-abundance of things, with the further result that the poor perish for the want of them, and all of life must be given to a vain quest of the needed something of possession. Alas for the order of society that will not let the soul of the toiler awake and if it does awaken, stirs it to the revolt of hatred and resentment! Alas for the order of society which will not suffer the souls of

those who have too much to awaken, for these become irresponsive to every higher summons. One knows that things are needed in life, but they ought to be the means of living and not the end of life. Man may live by bread alone, but, when he does, he no longer is man.

It is not easy to keep the soul awake amid the whirl and welter of things which are the bane of life—which are in truth the gravest menace to the spiritual life of our generation. We are overwhelmed by things, the opiate of things is putting our souls to sleep. To those who suffer their souls to be buried by things, Galsworthy in his "Commentaries" rightly remarks: "as if in strict attention to the outer things of life, their owner had parted with his soul." It is to the soul that the cry needs to be uttered, "Arise, awake, or be forever fallen!"

Every one of us must be his own good genius here. We must ever seek to help another as we are served by others, but we must be the awakeners of our own souls. Whate'er be the captaincy of our fates, ours may be the mastery of our own souls. The very term, the awakened soul, is a call to infinite faith and ceaseless trust and indomitable hope. The soul is not dead but sleeping. It may be awakened. Oh, infinite patience, man, with thy brother! Oh, infinite hope, man, for thyself!

Ruskin urged the manufacture of souls and Browning sang "Set free the soul." The man of unawakened soul is not free. The free-born or freedom-winning soul alone is awake. As men set free their souls, as men bid their souls awaken, they will learn the meaning of the truth of truths, which names the Eternal One: "Soul of the world, Soul of my soul."

“Who Are The Bolshevists at Home and Abroad?”*

Whatever other men may think and speak concerning Bolshevism, I have as an American and a Jew very special reasons for looking upon Bolshevism as hurtful and menacing. It is Bolshevism more than any other single factor that has for a time crushed Russia's hope of freedom and shattered the dream for which before the war tens of thousands of Russia's best and bravest chose to die. If Russia lies prostrate, broken, scorned in the sight of all men today, it is because of the work of Bolshevik leaders and all that they have done to plunge their unhappy land into political confusion and moral chaos.

As a Jew, I cannot help deploring that Jews in Russia are charged with responsibility for devising and leading Bolshevism when in truth I know that the great mass of Russian Jews are utterly and inflexibly opposed to Bolshevism and all that it means, and that only a comparatively small number of Jews have come to occupy places of importance or conspicuousness in the Bolshevik movement. Yet have I reason to fear that when at last Russia's hour of disillusionment come and Bolshevism be, as it ought ere this to have been, overthrown, many, many Jews will pay the price of the participation of some Jews in the leadership of Bolshevism.

* This address, given at Carnegie Hall Sunday morning, October 5th, 1919, has been considerably abbreviated, because its content has been embodied for the most part in the address which follows given Sunday morning, October 12th.

Bolshevism above all is justly execrated by all men because it is primarily responsible for the postponement of the day of peace, that peace which cannot dawn for the world as long as wars pro- and anti-Bolshevist continue to rage in the States that together constitute the Russia of yesterday.

But my real business this morning is not with Russian Bolshevism,—in other words the Bolshevism that obtains in foreign lands,—but with the peril of Bolshevism at home. I would deal with men and events which appear to be making straight-way for the creation of that spirit of revolt, which in some European lands has taken Bolshevist forms. I know that there are penalties, many and grave, which are likely to attach themselves to this address. It is clear to me that there are scores of manufacturers, large and small, within the ranks of this congregation, who may for a time in any event take serious exception to my thought. Some of them will doubtless determine to refuse to lend their help to the building of the Synagogue Home that has long been planned. I am ready to bear every burden and to pay every penalty. The one thing I am not ready to do is to conceal my inmost convictions. Better the truth spoken in this hired meeting-place or in the littlest and humblest of meeting-places than concealment of conviction and evasion of truth in the most cathedral-like Synagogue structure. It may not be necessary for you to build a Synagogue; it is necessary for your rabbi to speak out as he sees great issues.

In maintaining as I do that certain tendencies in the life of our nation seem certain to evoke a spirit of Bolshevism, I find it well to point out anew a matter with which I have dealt in urging the early ratification of the League of Nations covenant. The governments of Europe and of our own land had

said to their peoples, and justly as I believe, "This is your war and not our war." And the peoples fought as if it were their war and they won the war, which was in essence, alas, a battle of the peoples against war-lords and the spirit of war. Throughout the period of the war, our government through its various administrative departments established or in any event accepted, and by acceptance sanctioned, certain work-standards. The war ended, and the war was won just as truly by the workers in the steel-mills of Pittsburg as by America's soldiers in France. The men in the iron and steel industry could not contribute large amounts to Red Cross and Relief and Liberty Loan campaigns, but they resolutely and unflinchingly gave all they were in order that the war might speedily and triumphantly close.

For some time, in fact ever since the Armistice period, many of the leaders of American industry have set out to **reverse** and to abrogate government-accepted and government-sanctioned standards, and thus to undo the work of the war as far as human gains were concerned. What government in the world would dare to say to its people today, —the war being over, it is now for us to take things into our own hands once again and end the pretence of democratic rule. No European government could for an hour survive that dared thus to give the lie to its professions during the war period. And yet, just that is being sought by many of the leaders of American industry, who imagine that, the war having been ended, the workers can once again be dealt with in the old-time undemocratic and even feudal fashion.

But every plea such as mine is met by reference to what are declared to be the menacing and revolutionary views of one of the strike-leaders in the

steel industry. But the fact is, and it is incontrovertible, that the men in the iron and steel industry are not striking in order to achieve the realization of the views, wild or tame, of Mr. Foster or anyone else. They are striking as they have too long vainly striven for a fundamental right of industry, the right of the workers to organize and organizedly and collectively to deal with the employers. Again, to state as it is stated with wearisome iteration that organization makes for abuses, that unionism is bound up with many evils, is to urge the veriest commonplace. Terrorism and outlawry do not breed nice manners, nor, even in the matter of lawlessness, are the hands of employers in the iron and steel industry without guilt. True it is that their lawlessness is not as visible and as obvious as the lawlessness of men who do not know nor practise the art of stealthy, invisible but none the less fundamentally subversive lawlessness, which is at the command of the heads of the great industries, abetted in the past by skillfully devised laws and in the present by infinitely cunning lawyers. The complaint against lawlessness on the part of the workers by those ready to resort to every covert method and manner of lawlessness parallels the lament against huge wages, which now comes from swollen profiteers. One finds it nauseating to hear men complain of large wages, who all their lives have vastly overpaid themselves.

Can anyone even for a moment be deceived by the plea for and insistence upon the freedom of the workers, which comes from the heads of the Steel Corporation? The latter purports to be concerned about what it holds to be a vital moral issue, the issue of the open shop, and the freedom of the workers. As for these things, ever since its founding the United States Steel Corporation has done everything that it could in order to break down the

possibilities of organization among the workers. It has resorted to every manner of coercion and even violence in order to avert the organization of the workers. It has filled the places of native American workers with the foreign-born and now, finding that even the foreign-born worm will turn, gallantly complains that its "foreigners" are the easy tools of riot-urging workers and that its native American workers do not wish to be organized.

In answer to the audacious claim of the United States Steel Corporation that the organization does not represent all the workers nor **even** a majority of the workers, nor more than a small percentage of the workers, be it said that the claim if true proves how successful have been the coercive, terroristic, Cossackistic methods of the heads of the United States Steel Corporation. Judge Gary and his associates deceive no one save possibly some guileless editors or naive and muzzled preachers,—in purporting to be apostles of the freedom of the workers whom Judge Gary and his kind within and without the United States Steel Corporation would, if they could and if they dared, reduce to serfdom.

What have these men voluntarily done for the freedom and well-being of their workers? For the first ten years and more of the life of the Corporation, the workers were generally underpaid, worked for ten, twelve and even fourteen hours daily, seven days in the week, and all these things would still obtain if the gentlemen could have averted the pressure of public judgment and public wrath. Except for its work of safeguarding the life and limb of the worker, which has been altogether admirable, the United States Steel Corporation has granted nothing voluntarily to the worker, nor is it likely to do so. To those who insist that the freedom of the workers must be secured, it should be said that

it has never really been possible to ascertain the judgment and the will of the iron and steel workers. They have not been free to organize, and when organized in numbers large or small they have not secured the right of dealing with their employers.

If it be true that one hundred thousand and more men, iron and steel workers, have organized within the past year, such numbers represent a mighty moral triumph in the face of lawless oppression. A minority ought never be free to control a majority, but when men are denied the right to speak and act as freemen under a reign of law, then a minority must always precede and liberate a majority. I charge Judge Gary and his associates with having made it impossible for us, their fellow-Americans, to know what is the thought and purpose of the great number of men by them employed. The workers within the United States Steel Corporation have never been wholly free men. They are not free men today.

The men who are striking may be defeated for a time but Judge Gary's word, the word of the stock-jobbing Wall St. control of the steel industry, will not be the last word to be spoken. In ~~ten~~ years or less, we shall laugh at the Garys and the Gary autocracy will have become as obsolete and irresurrectible as the Hohenzollern militarocracy. Mr. Hohenzollern will not speak any more,—because no man will listen. Judge Gary will in time listen more and speak less.

Temporarily, the Steel Corporation may win a victory. The men may be beaten back into the ranks of toil,—with what result? The test case will have been won by the steel-barons but the victory will be wholly Pyrrhic. The I. W. W. is the unmistakable issue of the unwillingness of the capitalists to deal with organized workingmen. It

is the Garys in the steel industry and in other industries, which alas make I. W. Wism inevitable. The real question is this,—which view or attitude is destined to prevail? The attitude of the eighteenth or the judgment of the twentieth century? Garyism is the voice of the eighteenth century though it speak in the accents of the twentieth. Garyism may be cheered for a time by all those groups and classes, which vainly imagine themselves to be served and supported by it. Garyism may win today but the eighteenth century is bound to lose.

I have not willed to rest my case upon the spectre of fear but rather upon the hope of justice. I am not fearful of what the workers may in their strength and wrath some day rise to do, but I am ashamed of the injustice which we today are inflicting or suffering to be inflicted upon the workers. The workers who in a democracy are denied the right to organize and to deal collectively with their employers are not free men and the want of freedom cannot be palliated by benefits however generous or bonuses however warily devised. I can think of no meaner thing than to label everything Bolshevism today which one is bent upon destroying. The strikers are not Bolsheviks; they are lawful Americans,—save for such exceptions as may always be found within the ranks of employer and employe alike. But to crush freedom is to ensure revolt. To strike down freedom is to evoke the spirit of Bolshevism. For Bolshevism with all its evils and curses upon its head I hold the Czarism of yesterday responsible. Bolshevism is the outcome of long-smothered revolt against Czarism. I believe that Garyism may prove to be the most prolific breeder of Bolshevism in America.

“How Ought The Pulpit Deal with The Industrial Situation?”

My reasons for having spoken out last Sunday morning with regard to the iron and steel industry are these: Since the founding of the United States Steel Corporation, I had hoped that the time would come when the unionization of the workers could be effected. It came at last as a result of a resolution adopted at the Spring meeting of the American Federation of Labor. I at once offered my services to the Federation in the task of organizing the workers. Why? Because I had spoken of this thing and the necessity therefor for fifteen years and more. When the decision at last was made, I felt it my duty to hearten and to help the men against whom I know every method of coercion would be employed in order to avert their organization and unionization. I felt it would be little less than cowardly on my part to refrain from helping the men at the critical hour of resolve to organize, seeing that for a decade and more I had urged them to do just this thing.

I offered my services to the Federation and the offer was appreciatively accepted. Shortly thereafter I prepared a statement in response to a request from a newspaper agency wherein I set forth my reasons for offering to help the men to organize, which offer, I anticipated, would excite chiefly critical comment. That statement I will publish as an appendix to this address. Only one sentence I beg

leave to quote at this time: "I shall support the iron and steel workers in every peaceable and lawful action they may take. The policies of the Steel Corporation are technically peaceable and lawful, though I conceive that morally they spell the lawlessness of war upon such workers as are resolved to live and to labor as free men."

Early in September, I was about to set forth for Pennsylvania and make a series of addresses to the men whom it was sought to organize. Just as I was about to complete the arrangements, having set aside a number of important but conflicting matters, I learned as you did of the decision of the President to summon an Industrial Conference. I felt at once that all agitation and discussion should for a time be suspended,—that is to say, pending the Conference, which, it might be hoped, would make some real, perhaps even decisive, contribution toward the solution of the industrial problems. In these terms I telegraphed to the organizers of the men that I would not make the addresses for the present and believed that all agitation was undesirable and unfitting until after the White House Conference should have been held. By that decision I was determined to abide and I would have remained silent up to this hour but for two circumstances which made silence impossible and forthright speech on my part inevitable.

On the one hand, there came Judge Gary's refusal to deal with the representatives of the workers. In the next place, there followed the hearing before the United States Senate Committee. The Senate Committee dealt with Judge Gary as if he were some sacrosanct person whose private views touching matters of public import might not be inquired into. I felt and continue to feel that the Senate Committee failed to institute a real hearing and

merely served to give Judge Gary a further opportunity to show forth the immeasurable arrogance of the position which he had taken.

In the third place, I found that the men who had begun the strike, though they had done everything they could have been expected to do in order to avert it, were not getting a hearing and that millions of people could not learn the truth touching their cause, and I was resolved that someone should speak out in their name and on their behalf,—that they might be heard.

There were other reasons which moved me to speak, things which once before, since last Sunday, I made clear at a meeting of the Executive officers of the Synagogue. As many of you know who are members of the congregation, we have for years been considering the possibility of erecting a Synagogue home and centre. In order to do this, it would be necessary not only to secure the generous support of every member but in addition it would be needful to depend in no small part upon the interest and co-operation of men and women within and without the household of Israel, in New York and other parts of the country, who in one way or another have during the past years indicated their agreement with the spirit and purposes of the Synagogue.

After having planned to inaugurate a building campaign just before the beginning of the war, which of course had to be postponed, we felt some months ago that the time had come vigorously to take up and effectively to prosecute this purpose until it might be achieved. I had stated to some of my associates in the ministry and to some of the lay-leaders of the congregation that I hesitated to appeal for public support for the great undertaking which we were about to begin, unless I could feel that my views on industrial-social questions

were so clearly understood that subsequently no question could arise with respect to them and to the views on economic questions which I was supposed to hold by those who would be urged to help.

The matter would under all circumstances have seemed important, but it became especially important in view of the fact that in the course of the war it became necessary for liberals, including myself, in support of our country and its war aims and purposes, to stand out by the side of some men who under normal circumstances are far from being the friends and furtherers of democracy.

Thus when the question whether or not this pulpit should speak on the situation that had arisen in the iron and steel industry had presented itself, I was governed finally by one consideration which has been paramount throughout the quarter of a century of my ministry. Whenever it has seemed to me,—and from this rule I have not departed and shall not depart,—that the decision whether or not I should speak might be influenced in any degree by motives of prudence or fear or self-interest, I have known but one course and that was to speak and let the consequences take care of themselves. It was this circumstance, even though I occupied no position of trust and responsibility to the men with whom I for a moment dealt, that brought about the founding of the Free Synagogue.

Putting it concretely, I had reason to believe that it might come to pass that certain men and groups in the community would by representatives of the Synagogue be asked to contribute to the considerable fund, perhaps as much as one million dollars, needed to build the Synagogue Home. I did not wish it to come to pass that a man should contribute today and that a month or six months or a year later he should declare: "Had I known what

Dr. Wise's views were on economic questions, I would never have contributed one penny toward the establishment of a Synagogue centre and permanent pulpit for his occupancy." It was not the easiest choice to make, but I felt that within my congregation no man should have the right to say at any time in the future: "Dr. Wise holds views which ought to have been combated and not supported by me." Putting it differently, I stood ready to do without the support of men, who could and can do much for the building of a Free Synagogue. But I felt that I would, if I must, do without a Synagogue, without this meeting-place or any other, but I could not do without my self-respect as a man.

When all is said and done, they who today stand near to me and within the membership of the congregation may believe that I am utterly mistaken, that my views are unwise, that my teaching is hurtful. But the men and women of the Synagogue shall know that he who stands in this pulpit is prepared to sacrifice much, everything, but not his integrity as a teacher of religion and morals, not his self-respect as the preacher in the pulpit of this Synagogue.

These considerations would have sufficed but there was yet another wholly impersonal and perhaps most important of all. Though it be not needful for me to say it again, I repeat what you know, that I am opposed to Bolshevism as I am opposed to every movement which is subversive, anarchic, revolutionary. I devoutly believe that no good can come or ought to come out of any attitude toward the present order, which will result in mending or ending it through force and violence. I believe that some things in the present order ought to go and will go, but I do not believe that resort to force and violence can effect good, temporary or permanent.

Judge Gary is the outstanding leader of a group of men who consciously or unconsciously—and they are too wise for the most part not to know what they are doing,—are doing everything they can in order to make the present order indefensible. The Romanoffs of Russia do not present an excuse for Bolshevists and Bolshevism, but the reign of the Romanoffs helps to explain something of the bitterness and the passion of those who unhappily have in Russia for a time taken the reins into their own hands. The curse of the Romanoffs is that it breeds such a noisome and hideous thing as Bolshevism.

I would, and whilst I live I will speak to the effect, that industrial justice be done in our land. No man, whether Judge Gary or another, ought to be suffered to make the present order indefensible. If Judge Gary's refusal to discuss his and their affairs with the representatives of one hundred thousand and more of his coerced and browbeaten workers were the last word to be spoken, then I should be ready to say that the present order is indefensible. Men will be found to defend it. Not only do some of you believe in it, but men can be found or hired or bought outright who in press and on platform and from pulpit will defend it with zeal and eagerness.

I cry out against Garyism and all that it means,—namely, the denial to the workers of the right to organize and to deal collectively with their employers. I wish to do what can be done by one man to the end that the present regime become and remain at least approximately just and not as indefensible as it would be, if Garyism and the present order were to become interchangeable terms.

There is one charge that I will not deign to answer: the charge that some persons, especially such as clothe themselves in the noble garb of

anonymity, have made against me,—that I am a Bolshevik or in favor of Bolshevism. I scorn to note this heinous and foully false accusation,—I, who loathe Bolshevism, who have opposed it since first it was mooted and will oppose it as long as I am I and it is it. I will not deal with those who falsely charge that I am in sympathy, covert or overt, with Bolshevism. Suffice it once again and for the last time to say, what everyone who knows the teachings of his pulpit understands, that I am opposed to every form and phase of Bolshevism, that I consider it not a perfect expression of democracy but a complete denial of democracy. Bolshevism is not democracy at all. It purports to be a benevolent democracy, but in practice it is a maleficent despotism; it is despotism without the courage of its unfaith. It is the undoing of democracy in democracy's name; it is the subversion of all that for which a democratic people ought to strive.

It is necessary for me to point out that, as much as any man in this country, I have stood against Bolshevism from the beginning as I stand uncompromisingly against it now, I gave up extraordinary opportunities for war service abroad, because I was led to feel by leaders of the Administration that it was my duty to remain at home and to oppose with all strength the tides of Bolshevism. I am as unalterably opposed to Bolshevism as I was to Prussianism. Both are unspeakable evils; the one was fought and overcome; the other is being fought and must be overcome. America has no room and no quarter and no tolerance for Bolshevism. It may make fairer promises and speak a more gracious tongue than Hohenzollernism, but in essence it is at one with it. It denies and abrogates the fundamental freedom of men. To me Lenine and Trotsky are no less odious than Czar or Kaiser. A Czar

is intolerable not because he is more or less cruel, but because he is a Czar. The Lenine-Trotsky regime spells ruthless despotism; therefore to me it is loathsome and intolerable.

Someone had the graciousness to write to me, forgetting, however, to append his name, that most if not all Jews are Bolshevists, and that I, a Jew and a rabbi, am another Bolshevist. There are only two things to be said in answer to that statement. Jews are not Bolshevists, whether in Russia or out of Russia, nor am I a Bolshevist. That I am not a Bolshevist is as well known as is the fact that Judge Gary is not a secret agent of the American Federation of Labor. I have not concealed my opinions from public knowledge at any time during the war. It is not my habit to conceal my views; else I would not have done the imprudent thing of branding Garyism as I again brand it today as the most prolific breeder of revolutionary and Bolshevist sentiment in the land. That I am not a Bolshevist is clear to every one including those some of whom are prepared to destroy any man if he be a Jew, some of whom, I am ready to believe, are prepared to destroy me because I am not completely in sympathy with the Romanoff dynasty translated into the terms of the captaincy of the steel industry of America.

It is rather amusing to think that many good folk have expressed themselves touching my address of last Sunday without regard to the question which I raised, the question which I raise again today for the second time,—whether the workingmen ought to have the right of organization and collective bargaining. That question has little to do with the scarcity of so-called domestic servants, which circumstance seems to be explicably disconcerting at present to large numbers of persons, has nothing to do with the exorbitant demands of the strikers

in one industry or the want of faith of strikers in another industry, has nothing to do with those groups of workingmen, who chronically strike and only spasmodically work.

Let no one imagine that I am unaware of or blind to the abuses which obtain within the ranks of organized labor. I know not a little but much about the blackmailing and corruption and thievery which are responsible for some of the almost inevitable ill-will felt against labor organizations by employers of labor. I know these things and I abhor them. You cannot object as strenuously or as regretfully as I do to many grave and almost intolerable abuses that have grown out of the organization of labor. I deplore them most, because, believing in organized labor as I do, the rank abuses and corruption, which have frequently come to be associated with the methods of labor organizations, make it more difficult for one to defend organized labor and to insist upon its indispensable place in our democratic industrial system.

But I maintain that we have no right to judge a principle or system by the abuses and the evils that have arisen therefrom so long as these are merely incidental thereto and not inevitably bound up therewith. I ask that the principle of organized labor be judged not by the depths to which it has lapsed nor even by the heights to which at best it has lifted men, but by the rightfulness of the position of those who choose to shelter themselves under the banner of collective and organized relation to their employers. I venture to predict that there will be no betterment of conditions with respect to labor organization and leadership and that the same practices and abuses that have for decades disfigured it will continue to obtain as long as labor organization remains under suspicion and under fire, as long as it is outlawed or semi-outlawed, as long as it fail

to have its normal and legitimate place within our industrial scheme. The one course to pursue toward labor unions is not to attempt to outlaw and to crush them but to regularize them, to give them legal sanction, to place upon them legal responsibility—whether they will or not.

As far as the members of the congregation are concerned some of whom are evidently determined to withdraw from the Synagogue, they face in large part a special difficulty of which I am not unmindful. But they have no right to charge me nor my word on the industrial situation with responsibility for that which is wholly unrelated to the steel strike problem. Not a few of you are concerned with the needle or garment industry, and in these industries it may be true—and I have no doubt that oftentimes it is true,—that the men with whom you are dealing are nominally tradesunionists but actually sincere and not wholly dispassionate believers in what they would be pleased to style a completely socialized order, although, it must be added, some of their leaders are most wise and statesmanlike.

So that for the most part you happen to face a problem other than that which is faced by Judge Gary and his associates. You know that the men in the iron and steel industry are not revolutionary Bolshevists and that nothing could be more contemptible than that the leaders of the Steel Corporation, who oppose the men, garb themselves in the role of anti-Bolshevism, because they know that such role is not sincere. Judge Gary is, I hope, too decent to make any such claim. He is fighting trades unionism, which was destroyed in the Pittsburgh steel district in 1892 as he and his associates have bitterly, violently and in spirit lawlessly fought it since the founding of the Steel Corporation.

The steel workers are not attempting, despite every slander that may be hurled against them, to achieve the overthrow of the present control of the steel industry. They sought and for the most part are still seeking by every lawful means to bring about the possibility of direct collective dealing with their employers. You, masters in many divisions of the garment or needle industry, take it for granted that every evil you face grows out of organization and unionism. But if the truth were known, you would see and understand that the major part of the evils by which you are today confronted has resulted from your unreadiness to accept organization and unionization when these were wholly lawful and even extraordinarily reasonable in their demands. The difficulties, which you face in your own industries, dealing with men who for the most part are impatient of everything connected with the present regime, ought to serve as warning to the heads of the great industries throughout the land, to accept as inevitable the fact of organization in industry, to deal with it justly and reasonably, or else to resolve, as Judge Gary and his associates seem to have resolved, that you will beat down and crush every attempt of the workers to organize, which is not acceptable to you and in agreement with your views.

I have been perhaps a little more moved to speak as I have spoken, because of the grief that is my own when I find a former Y. M. C. A. worker in the American army testify, as he did, before the Senate Committee against everything for which the organizations of workers are striving. Just as it is noisome to my soul to find representatives of the Roman and Protestant churches in the steel and iron district, with some brave and noble exceptions, doing everything that they can in order to wean the workers from their union allegiance and to win

them back to a position of unrevolting acquiescence in anything which the Steel Corporation may devise. Men in the pulpit must speak out and if there be one pulpit which above all should be heard when great moral-social problems are in the balance, for fundamentally every industrial-economic problem is a moral problem, it is the pulpit of the synagogue. I speak of the pulpit though I would include the pulpits of all churches. I believe the pulpit to have a duty and that duty does not vary as between Christian and Jewish pulpits.

If, however, there is a larger and a higher duty, it is the duty of the Synagogue pulpit. It does not pretend to maintain the great and prophetic tradition, but the pulpit of the synagogue is charged with the responsibility of prophetic memories and prophetic aspirations. If the Jewish pulpit ought to speak out at this time concerning the industrial situation, then upon the pulpit in which I stand, pledged to truth-speaking under freedom, there lies a most solemn and inescapable duty. I could not with self-respect remain silent, and, if I did, and were indifferent to the retention of that self-respect, you would speedily and justly feel that I had been silent for a cause, that I had chosen the part of personal ease and congregational advantage and you would be the first to withhold your respect even though half-heartedly you continued your material support.

There are two charges which have been made with respect to the word of this pulpit last Sunday to which I pause for a moment in order to make reply. The one is that I have spoken disrespectfully of Judge Gary. I have not willed to speak disrespectfully of him. I willed to speak truthfully of him. I believe that I have done this. In my judgment Judge Gary has been guilty of a deep and terrible wrong against the life of our democracy. I cannot

bring myself to speak with any special show of respect touching a man, who has inflicted grave and perhaps irreparable injury upon the fabric of our common life. Why should Judge Gary be spoken of with special respect? Is it because he is the head of a mighty industrial corporation? Is our respect for a man to be proportionate to the measure of power that he wields without regard to the uses to which that power is applied? Is Judge Gary to be alluded to in terms of respect and of honor merely because he represents the most powerful and, as far as its leadership is concerned, the most absurdly reactionary aggregation of capital in the nation? I for my part will not speak respectfully of him or of any man, be he Jew or Christian or unbeliever, who speaks as Judge Gary has spoken, who assumes an attitude of despotism with regard to tens of thousands of men in his employ as Judge Gary has done.

Why are some of you so disturbed about an attack on Judge Gary? Why so sensitive in respect to my references to him? I know the reason perhaps as well as some of you. Because he is to many of you a symbol, because he is fighting your battle, the battle which you would fight on the morrow if you dared, the battle which you believe he will win for you without your help, because you imagine that if Garyism can win, unionism will be doomed and all workingmen's organizations be smothered.

The other charge, which I will notice for a moment and then allude to it no more, is that I am undermining the Jewish name, that I have hurt the Jewish position by what I have said and done in the steel and iron industrial situation. If that be true, if I could bring myself to believe that to be true, whenever the moment comes that I feel there is any truth in that claim, that moment will I leave the Jewish pulpit and forswear it forever.

But I would say to some of those gentlemen, who are suddenly become very solicitous for the Jewish name, that perhaps mine has been the privilege of doing something during the twenty-five years of my ministry to hold high the Jewish name, not to trail it in the dust, but to lift up and to keep aloft the banner inscribed with the ideals of my people. Who can point to any word or act of mine which has inured to the hurt of my people? I have been assured a thousand times in the last twenty-five years that, if my ministry has been and done aught, it has served to win for the Jewish name and the Jewish people that respect and honor which are our due. Whether what I said of Garyism last Sunday will hurt the Jewish name, I do not know. But I am minded to believe that we may well be indifferent to the opinion or good-will of any man in whose eyes the Jewish name is hurt by reason of my utterance of last Sunday. I have spoken the truth as I saw it. I claim the privilege of securing a hearing for the other side, which has gone virtually unheard. I did speak out in unqualified scorn alike of Garyism and of the Senate Committee, which suffered Garyism to go unrebuked and even to go unchallenged.

If I am to be silent on every great moral issue because I am a Jew, if my lips are to be sealed when truth and conscience bid me speak lest I hurt the Jewish name, then I wish to live in some place, small or large, near or remote, where a man can live without wholly forfeiting his self-respect. Of this I would feel utterly reft if I had to shape my own course and govern my speech at every moment by the thought and the fear that someone might take offence at or become hostile to my people because of a word honestly spoken. My life and ministry have, I trust I do not unduly flatter myself, not been unserviceable to my people's honor and my people's

name. If for a moment some non-Jew take offense at my word and choose to feel ill-will toward my people because I, one of their teachers, have spoken out as I have spoken, then my people must for the moment bear the consequences.

Were I persuaded that right or wrong, true or false my word would permanently and irremediably hurt my people, I would not be silent, but would instantly take myself out of the Jewish pulpit. I am ready today to make the test. I offer my congregation the privilege of passing upon the question whether or not I ought to remain as their Rabbi and continue to be free to speak as I have spoken. I shall not be offended by any action which my people may choose to take. If it seem best in their sight that I withdraw from their ministry, as God is my witness and as I believe that God will judge between me and them that assail me, I will withdraw with nothing but friendship and good-will and affection for every member of my congregation, whether I continue to serve it or the hour has come for my withdrawal.

I need hardly repeat, as I said last Sunday in another connection, that I am indulging in no idle threat. I mean exactly what I say as I always mean exactly what I say. I need not declare that my resignation is in the hands of my people. My resignation is always in the hands of my congregation as it has been from the hour in which I assumed the office of rabbi of the Free Synagogue. I make no contract with the congregation. I serve it at its pleasure. If the congregation or any considerable number of the members deem it better in the interest of the Jewish people that I withdraw from its pulpit, I shall do so without a moment's hesitation. The decision rests with you. But be it understood that within or without the pulpit I shall speak the truth as I see it; I shall be governed by

my conscience; I shall be hindered by no fears; I shall consult no motives of selfishness. God help me and you alike to see and to do what is right in His eyes.

It is only fair, however, to say—whatever be the outcome of the decision and the action which I invite,—that the men who constitute the Executive Committee of the Synagogue do not wish to limit my freedom, that they would not deny me the right to speak substantially as I have spoken, though some of them might wish that I were a little more amiable and gentle in manner, somewhat more irenic in speech. Their question is whether they ought to continue to support a religious institution the teacher of which utters views not only wholly and irreconcilably at variance with their own but subversive of much that they believe to be permanently valid and just. Thus in a sense the question of pulpit freedom is not raised at all. For it has been clearly understood since the Free Synagogue was founded that the rabbi speaks **to his congregation but for himself**, that the congregation cannot always be expected to be in agreement with or to yield assent to the views of the pulpit. Let no officer or member of the congregation feel that he is involved in responsibility for the things that are being said today or that were said last Sunday morning in this pulpit. The speaker alone is responsible, and he conceives that his responsibility is not to his congregation but to himself, to his conscience, and over and above all to Him, whom he conceives to have given him charge to speak.

Finally, nothing could be finer than the spirit of the members of this Synagogue, who may differ from me fundamentally and yet seem prepared to stand inflexibly for the freedom of the pulpit. It is easy enough to stand for something when no one

is hurt. As some officers of the Synagogue said to me a few nights ago, "this matter is a very practical one for us. If your views prevail, it means great loss and hurt to us." The time to abide by a principle, hard as it may be, is when the principle involve hurt to one's self. I feel not only deep admiration but personal gratitude to those members of the Synagogue, who are resolved to stand uncompromisingly by the principle of the free pulpit at a time when its occupant is challenged and their loyalty may involve matters of high moment to themselves.

I have not meant to deal with the question, whether or not I am free to speak as I have spoken, whether or not this pulpit ought to deal with such questions as the theme of last Sunday and of this day. Surely I have made my own viewpoint in these matters clear enough during the years that we have dwelt together. That this viewpoint will change, I cannot promise; that it will not change, I can and do most solemnly affirm. Nay, far from that, I can but say that I mean to adhere to the life-purpose of my ministry to speak the truth as I see it, to demand justice and justice and justice yet again.

If my kind of preaching be incompatible with the maintenance of an institution such as our own, then, as far as I am concerned, the institution must go,—that is to say, it must go on without me. If it go on without me as it is free to choose to do, I will be heard without the Free Synagogue, as you my people, loved in the past and to be loved by me for all time, have made it possible for me to be heard within this pulpit. Whether I am to be heard by this congregation or within this pulpit is a question which must be left to your decision. My decision is made.

"The Grounds for Divorce"

Is the State Law an Ethical Statute?

Divorce is a dismal as well as a dangerous theme. It would be much more pleasant to dwell upon marriage, for marriage together with birth and death forms the great and mysterious trilogy of life. The very word, when uttered in sincerity of soul, conjures up glories and splendors that come at the call of no other mystic invocation. It stirs from their sleep mighty elemental forces that run back through the ages and lose themselves in the mists of primeval nature. It throws open magnificent vistas filled with visions that hover upon the horizon like opalescent clouds floating forever into an infinite heaven. It invests the man and woman it touches with a garment of golden light. It is the one miracle that turns the poorest heart into an altar of holy fire and the most shrunken soul into a sacred shrine. The poet is right:

"God be thanked, the meanest of his creatures
Boasts two soul-sides, one to face the world with,
One to show a woman when he loves her"

And yet in spite of all that marriage means, it does come to pass now and then that the fire dies out on the altar and the shrine is desecrated. No disappointment could be greater than this, no misfortune, no tragedy more awful. The heavens reft of star and sun would be a warm and cheerful prospect compared to the soul of a man or woman to whom has come the cold and terrible truth that love is dead. But dreadful as is the sight to contemplate it is too frequent a human experience to be ignored by those who are concerned with life, with ethical principles and their implications. What ever the pain or the penalty we dare not shun the problem that oppresses those men and women who awake to

find themselves husband and wife solely by virtue of a legal bond.

Divorce, it need scarcely be emphasized, is not a phenomenon of our own time only; though it is true that the custom has grown rapidly of late. In 1896 the courts granted 42,000 divorces in the United States; in 1906, ten years later, 72,000, in 1916, the last year for which we have the figures, 112,000. The divorce rate has advanced on the average just about three times as fast as the population. But these facts, startling as they may sound, should not agitate us so greatly as to make us forget the history of matrimonial institutions. In other ages and in other lands divorce has been more common than it is to-day in America. In ancient Rome a man could dismiss his wife for any reason that seemed good in his own eyes and without any or with a very simple procedure; the same thing was true in Greece; the same thing was true of Israel. It was not until just before the dawn of the present era that one of the schools of Jewish Law, the School of Shammai, placed any restriction upon the right of a man to divorce his wife; it was not until the 11th Century that Rabbi Gershom issued a decree ordaining that a woman was not to be put away except by her own consent, unless proved guilty of certain definite violations of the Law.

During the Middle Ages the Catholic Church, basing its action upon the teachings of Jesus and the doctrine of the New Testament that marriage is a sacrament beyond the power of man to dissolve, admitted no divorce for any cause. But, while the Canon Law denied divorce, as we understand it, it did allow the ecclesiastical courts to declare a marriage for various reasons null and void. The reasons in the beginning were few, but in time so multiplied that almost anyone could through some gate escape from the miseries of matrimony. George Elliot Howard, one of the ablest writers upon this subject, renders his judgment without prejudice or equivocation: "Practically speaking it

cannot be doubted that there existed a very wide liberty of divorce, — though it existed mainly for those who were able to pay the ecclesiastical Judge for finding a way through the tortuous maze of forbidden degrees." This system of casuistry and the abuses with which it polluted Mediaeval Europe received a terrific shock at the hands of the Reformation. Luther refused to recognize marriage as a sacrament and taught fearlessly that the Civil Court possessed the power to grant divorce final and complete. This lesson the Puritans learned on the continent and preached incessantly to the unresponsive and hostile minds of England. Milton himself, great thinker and social reformer as well as poet, prepared and published one of the boldest defenses of divorce in our literature. Marriage, he believes, rests upon the deep and serious verity of mutual love, without which wedlock is but an empty husk, as undelightful and as unpleasing to God as any other kind of hypocrisy. Divorce, therefore, "is a Law of moral equity." After reading Milton one does not wonder that the Puritans on reaching New England established the foundation of a liberal divorce law and committed the power to make and unmake marriage not to the Church but to the representatives and authorities of the State.

The Puritans, however, did not settle New York. As long as the Dutch administered and controlled the Colony, divorce, of course, was granted wherever the magistrates could not reconcile the man and woman who appealed to them for release, for even in those early Settlements in the New World families did not altogether, it seems, escape domestic discord and estrangement. But when the English closed in and captured New Netherlands they at once made the Common Law of New England the Law of the land. This law placed marriage and divorce in the hands of ecclesiastics and the ecclesiastics, following the tradition of the Orthodox English Church, did not favor and would not decree, divorce. For

over one hundred years, from 1664, no divorce was granted in the province of New York. It was not until 1787 that the first Divorce Law was passed and this law allowed divorce for only one reason, that of infidelity. Strange as it may sound, in the one hundred and thirty-two years that have elapsed, New York has added no other ground for divorce. This policy of our State has been in marked contrast to that of New England, where Maine and Massachusetts and Rhode Island and Connecticut have all increased the causes for which divorce is granted to seven or eight or even twelve. New York in this vital matter has not followed the liberalism of the North, but has leaned toward the conservatism of her sister States to the South. From the earliest years the southern states have hesitated and halted at every step in their divorce legislation. South Carolina still has no Divorce Law and has never granted a divorce through her Courts except for the brief period between 1872 and 1878. Had the territory in which we live been colonized by the Puritans, or had the Dutch remained long enough in control to establish the precedent for the Law, the history of divorce in New York State would be a different story and we should not to-day be asking ourselves this question: Is the State Law an Ethical Statute?

One way in which to answer this question is to lay before you the effect of our Law upon those who must confess with shame and grief that the joys of marriage have turned to dust and ashes and wormwood and gall. But before I describe these effects, as I see them in life from day to day, let me direct your attention to the important fact that infidelity is not the only source of domestic infelicity; that it does not form even a major cause for which divorce is sought and secured in the United States. A careful study of the statistics reveals the fact, and it is not known to many, that divorce is granted for infidelity in only 11.5 per cent. of all the cases in the United

States as a whole. In 88.5 per cent. the cause is desertion, cruelty, drunkenness or one of the twelve or fourteen others allowed in other sections of the country. It is safe to assume that what is true of conditions in the United States at large is true also of New York, and the question that we must consider and that compels our very earnest solicitude is frankly this: What happens in the 88.5 per cent. of the families, in the 88 out of every 100 cases, in which divorce is desired and warranted for some other reason just as serious and just as imperative, in the minds of many, as the violation of the Seventh Commandment.

We know, without question, what happens in some instances, the man or woman or both go to some other State where the Law is more lenient and obtain a divorce decree. This method, it is very evident, cannot be employed by a great number, for the cost of travel and residence elsewhere is too great, for most families it is absolutely prohibitive. We know also what occurs in another and much larger group. The man and woman disguise or conceal the real cause of their difficulty and arrange through their lawyer to meet the requirements of the Law. This is collusion, of course, and therefore illegal; but the courts in the great and constant pressure of litigation cannot contest every uncontested case of divorce and must as a rule accept the evidence presented without a thorough and searching investigation. This unhappy device is a matter of common knowledge as is likewise the fact that some lawyers, or rather some members of the legal profession, make a special study of ways in which to facilitate the process of divorce. I do not propose to discuss this process, the subject is too foul and nauseating to touch, but I do want to cite at least one experience, and it is only one of many, to prove how lightly our men and women have come to regard this manner of dissolving the bonds of matrimony. A young woman discovered a short time

ago that she had blundered grievously in the selection of her life companion. In another State she could have secured a divorce on the ground of desertion or for two or three other reasons. In New York, however, she found that only one ground was accepted and she therefore requested her lawyer to arrange for the divorce in the customary manner. But her husband, much to the surprise of the young woman and her relatives and her lawyer, refused to agree to the arrangement. He was quite willing to desert his wife but insisted that he could not in any other way risk his reputation. Then the young woman came to me, stated her case quite frankly and ended with this appeal: "Will you not please go to my husband and persuade him to do what my lawyer wants?" Think what that means! At the time, I admit, I was more than indignant, but on reflection I believe I can forgive the young woman much more easily than I can excuse the Law.

These results of the Law are not unknown to most of us, but there are other consequences which though less apparent are far more serious in the damage they inflict upon individuals and our common life. In this community there are many couples who find themselves utterly unsuited for each other and who cannot or will not, because of conscience, escape through the one door that the Law allows. Let me ask you to picture to yourself what this forced association must mean to a man and woman who have no affection for each other, who become a source of irritation to each other and who have come to regard each other with distaste if not with hate. This legal but detested, and one might almost say immoral intimacy, is a source of inexpressible misery and torture to any woman and it means little less to the man. Still this is the purgatory to which we condemn couple after couple in our community, day after day and year after year until death at last comes to their relief. Could I repeat to you the confessions that have come

to me in sacred confidence, or dared I lift for a moment the veil that must forever cover the souls once bared in my presence, you would not wonder why I have come to look upon this Law as an instrument of injustice and one that makes a mockery of marriage.

But even this group does not illustrate the worst nor the most far-reaching effect of the Law. There are other men and women who constitute the most tragic problem of all. I mean those men and women who will not abide within the torture chamber that the Law constructs. With or without the consent of the court they separate, and with or without the consent of society they form other associations, as did George Eliot and Mr. Lewis. Again and again it has been my unhappy fortune to meet these aliens to the Law. They know as well as we that they offend against the statutes of our State and likewise that their conduct invites the condemnation of the Moral Law. This they understand, but they know something else that many of us do not even suspect, they know that they are not altogether happy—that at the heart of their life there is a source of unrest, a drop of poison that taints with bitterness the well-springs of the spirit. A little while ago I met a woman, whose story I want to repeat not because it is sad and pitiful but because it seems so typical of all the rest. Her husband a year after marriage turned into a drunken, dissipated brute; he bruised her in body and he broke her in spirit, and then he abandoned her to live out his life in his own way. But for these reasons she could not secure a divorce in New York State. Two years later she met a man who wanted to marry her. She could not marry him, but today they are living together as man and wife and have a beautiful little child. They are fond of each other and he is good to her and the child is the center of their hope and still she is not happy, for she knows it is illegal and contrary to our accepted standards of right. Her own words, every one bathed in tears and burdened with agony put the case as no one has ever

put it before: "I know I am living what some would call an immoral life. But it is a strange Law that makes me immoral, because it will not make me free."

Let no one imagine that such conditions as these can persist for years in a community and not vitiate to some degree the standards of judgment and of life. We might reasonably expect to find just what a little observation and analysis reveals, namely, that in addition to the rancor and resentment generated in the hearts of those most intimately concerned other results have come about just as grave and more ominous. For one thing, divorce in the minds of the majority has become associated or even identified with immorality. Nothing could be more unjust to the great number of men and women who feel that they ought to separate for reasons other than that of infidelity. And nothing also could make so impossible a clear and judicious thinking on one of the most urgent and pathetic problems of our State. Until we learn that the purpose of marriage is defeated in a number of ways and that, therefore, there must be a number of wholly proper and legitimate causes of dissolution, we shall not even begin to understand the elementary factors of divorce. Another thing for which the Law is accountable is a certain spirit of lawlessness that we can ill-afford at any time and certainly not at this time. When we think of lawlessness most of us see at once before us an open defiance and violation of the Laws of our State or country. But there is another form of lawlessness even more to be dreaded; it is that lawlessness of the spirit that grows out of the knowledge that all around us there is a constant, subtle, insidious and subterranean evasion of Laws that in public we are hypocritically bidden to hold sacred. Because it results in collusion on the part of those who will be free, because it forces others to live together in a painful and unnatural union, because it leads to immoral and illegal associations among men and women, because it breeds disrespect and irreverence for Law itself, the Divorce Law of

the State of New York stands indicted as an unethical statute. For no Law can be ethical unless it coincides with the right and eventuates in absolute justice for those it is designed to punish or protect.

If these be the vicious effects of the Law, and I am convinced they are, then why is it that the Law has never been changed and no other ground for divorce has been added in New York as in most other States of the Union? There is no one reason, there are probably several. In the first place, the people of the State do not know the facts, they do not apprehend or appreciate the enormity of the evil. They do not see what some of us are compelled to look upon from day to day, the unutterable wretchedness and wrong wrought by the Law. They do not feel the grievance as an inexcusable affront to their sense of justice and, therefore, do not rouse themselves to demand a liberalization of divorce. It would take years to create a sentiment wide and strong enough to force a change, even with an unremitting and ceaseless propaganda. For the people of New York State, it seems, are incurably conservative when they come to consider a piece of legislature at all related to religion. Divorce is related to religion, it lies embedded in over two centuries of conservative and orthodox religious thought. How long it would take to blast this rock of conservatism and orthodoxy no religious, and social reformer would venture to predict.

In the second place the Law has not been changed because those men who might be expected to take the first step have made no move whatever. I am speaking now of the Legal Fraternity of the State of New York. Every lawyer is acquainted with the evil consequences just as well as we are. They all know that the Law is unwise and unjust; they all know that few lawyers will accept a divorce case unless it is brought to them by a client or a trusted friend, not because they do not believe divorce is deserved, but because the

Law compels them so often to do things that are unclean; they all know that as a result divorce has fallen into the hands of a few men who enjoy the unenviable notoriety of being Divorce Lawyers; and still in spite of this the Bar Associations of our State have never come together to demand relief at the hands of the Legislature. It is almost unbelievable that this great body of men, educated, trained, experienced, thoroughly versed in the law, familiar no doubt with both the history and philosophy of jurisprudence, should have remained inactive and mute for over a century. They have discussed the Law, naturally, but their discussions have, with the rarest exceptions, dealt with technicalities and procedure and not with the fundamental facts. One would think that their interest in the Law, their regard for their own profession, their concern for the administration of justice, would urge them again and again to some form of concerted action. The lawyers of the State cannot escape the charge of indifference of which their own conduct convicts them: and they must as much, if not more than any other group in the community, hold themselves responsible for the suffering that follows in the wake of the Law.

In the third place the Law has not been changed because there are within the State a large number of men and women who quite sincerely believe that a more liberal Law would immediately usher in a host of calamities. It would lead, they assure us somewhat excitedly, to a vast increase in the number of divorces. Instead of 32 for every 100,000 of the population we should have seven or eight times as many, as in the State of Washington. It would mean inevitable and infinite suffering to unnumbered little children; hundreds and thousands would be robbed of their homes and housed in Orphan Asylums or with strangers. It would weaken and shatter the sanctity of marriage; men and women would cease to think seriously of a bond from which they could escape with greater ease

And finally, and this is the worst horror of all, a more liberal Divorce Law would introduce at once an era of social corruption, such as fell upon Rome in the latter days of the Republic when divorce became so common that marriage became unpopular and men and women in the higher classes of society changed their partners almost as often as they changed the style of their garments.

Are all these fears well founded? A candid and unprejudiced consideration of each one will, in my judgment, prove that there is no reason for anticipating greater suffering or demoralization under a more liberal divorce law. It is quite true that a more liberal Law would lead to a greater number of divorces. This increase in number, however, would be due in part to the fact that those who now go elsewhere would be divorced at home. In other words, the number that is now put to the account of other States would be credited, or charged, to New York. It would be due also in part to the fact that many who now live together against their own desire, and many who live apart in spite of the Law and in a questionable state of morality, would legally separate and dissolve the bond of marriage. An increase in divorces due to these causes would hardly be a calamity. On the contrary, to end these miserable unions, that are mere travesties upon marriage; and to wipe out the immorality that now flows from the Law itself, would not be an evil but a consummation profoundly to be wished and welcomed. The State would then be dealing wisely with a condition that it now chooses to ignore; it would be meting out justice to those whom the Law now visits with injustice and without mercy.

Let me now turn to the children who would suffer, it is asserted, because of a more lenient divorce law. This is without question one of the most distressing elements in one of the most distressing of all problems. But two things at this point must

constantly be kept in mind. The first is that not every couple that deserves divorce possess children. Only forty per cent, or two out of five, of the couples granted divorce in this country report children. This means certainly that the number of children involved is not near so large as would appear without a study of the facts. The second thing is this, would the children through the divorce of their parents suffer more than they do as conditions exist to-day? It seems only reasonable to reply that a home in which husband and wife are unsuited to each other, a home in which the atmosphere is constantly surcharged with irritation and anger and antagonism and evil thoughts is not a place in which children can receive the tender care they deserve and can cultivate the thoughts and feelings and habits and virtues which we believe to be the rightful and necessary equipment of every boy and girl and man and woman. Where the mother is at fault the children should be awarded to the father, who as a rule can and should take care of them. Where the father is at fault and the mother is competent, but cannot because of lack of income take care of her children, the State should make this possible through such subsidies as are now granted to widows. A woman whose children's father will not or cannot live as he should, deserves support from the State just as much as the woman whose husband has died of accident or disease. Where neither father nor mother are fit to rear their children, and these cases are very, very rare, the State in its own interest should take the children and place them with foster parents.

In regard to the third objection, that an increase in the number of grounds for divorce would violate and destroy the sanctity of marriage, it seems only fair to answer that the burden of proof rests upon those who advance the contention. For my own part, I can find no evidence either in literature or experience, that

marriage is regarded less sacredly in the States in which the Law is broad and liberal than it is in New York. I am fairly well acquainted with the standards of life in at least the three States in which I have lived, in New York where there is one ground for divorce, in Illinois where there are eight and in Ohio where there are ten. And I am convinced that in Ohio and Illinois marriage is entered upon just as seriously and held in as high a sanctity as it is in this State in which we reside. If these objections enjoyed any validity whatever it would mean that the State allowing no divorce would boast the purest and highest conception of married life. It so happens, however, that the one State that grants no divorce, the State of South Carolina, is likewise the one State that legalizes the custom of concubinage. This tragic result is scarcely calculated to enhance or intensify the sanctity in which marriage is held.

In the same manner I feel I must make answer to those who insist that a more liberal Law would inaugurate an era of social corruption. It is for them to prove that the general moral level of life is lower in Massachusetts and Minnesota and California than it is in New York. They will discover, I am convinced, upon consultation, that the accepted barometers of social life do not sustain their own unsupported assertions. They will find no figures to prove that there is more juvenile delinquency and adult crime in States with a liberal Divorce Law than there is in New York. They will find no reasons to persuade them and us that men engaged in industry and commerce and finance in Boston and San Francisco are less honest than the men upon the Exchange in our own city. They will find, in spite of recent elections, that there is no evidence sufficiently strong to convince us that political organizations in New York are characterized by greater purity of purpose and idealism than they are in New England and on the Pacific Coast. Those who repeat with constant emphasis that divorce is a cause

of social collapse and quote Leckey's famous and dramatic picture of Rome as their authority, probably misinterpret the facts and surely misunderstand the very man they cite. If they will re-read Leckey's monumental work on the History of European Morals they will learn that some people quote Leckey on divorce as they quote the Bible,—without ever having read the book. This English scholar's own words are as follows: "A vast wave of corruption had flowed into Rome, and under any system of Law it would have penetrated into domestic life.—In a purer state of public opinion a very wide latitude of divorce light probably have been allowed both parties without any serious consequences." In his later work on Democracy and Liberty Leckey goes even farther than this, and challenges the English Law of 1857, operative in his own time and only a little worse than our own, as a scandal to English legislation. Excessive divorces are either an accompaniment or a consequence of social corruption, they are not a cause.

If our present Divorce Law is unethical, and the arguments against a change are without validity, and there are so many reasons for liberal legislation, what kind of a Law should we advocate and under what conditions ought we to agree to allow divorce? In my judgment, and here I speak only for myself, we should issue a divorce decree in the following conditions: First, if a man and woman together decide that their marriage is a failure and that they wish to be separated and free, then the State shall require them to live apart for one year. If at the end of that time, the man and woman are still of the same mind, then the State shall grant them a complete divorce whatever the reason they assign, and grant this without a humiliating and degrading procedure in court. Second, if either the man or woman violates the bond of marriage by infidelity, by desertion, or by any form of gross misconduct, then the innocent party shall, if he or she so desire it, be freed; and the guilty party shall be

punished, and punished, not by being allowed to marry some one else, as at present, but by forfeiting a proportionate share of his or her property to the innocent party and in extreme cases by imprisonment if possible. Third, if the State is convinced that a marriage is socially wrong and disadvantageous to society and posterity, then the State shall dissolve the marriage, whether the parties thereto are willing or not. This power the State ought to possess as it should and does possess the power to prevent a marriage that is not in accordance with the Law and the conscience of the community.

A Divorce Law allowing divorce under such conditions as these, may sound to some unreasonable and radical. It would not, however, be more unreasonable and more radical than the legislation that is being enacted in the more progressive countries of the world where thought is unhampered by theological and social tradition and ecclesiastical environment. It would do nothing more than embody as accurately and as completely as possible what Jewish authorities will confirm as the best teaching of Judaism concerning divorce. Such a Divorce Law as this should serve not only as the Law of the State of New York but as the basis of a uniform Divorce Law for the United States. Our country must end the absurd and outrageous system which allows a different Law in each State and must lay the foundation for a piece of Federal legislation that will meet this whole problem in a large and generous manner.

Legislation on divorce must not be determined by accident or prejudice, it should proceed in accordance with a well-defined principle; and the principle itself can be derived from no other source than our conception of marriage. At one time marriage was looked upon as nothing more than a commercial transaction. A man acquired his wife

as he acquired any piece of property, by seizure or purchase. Such a conception of marriage means divorce at the pleasure of the man and a procedure that he himself dictates and directs. In later centuries marriage was regarded as a sacrament, as a mysterious religious rite that a man could perform in the name of the Deity, but over which he possessed no control once the formula had been uttered. This conception of marriage admits no divorce, as we use the term, but does allow for a nullification of the ceremony. In our own age marriage is described as a contract, a contract which the State authorizes and seals as it does any other contract. It naturally follows that if the State can authorize marriage it can also in its discretion dissolve the union. These different conceptions and interpretations of marriage, however, do not altogether satisfy our deepest or finest instincts. Marriage, we believe, is not a commercial transaction, it is not a magic rite, it is something more than a contract. Marriage at its best and highest, and we would not have it less than this, is a spiritual companionship sanctioned by the State and sanctified by religion. Men and women under this consecration come together to live in harmony and to share in the intimate and sacred joys vouchsafed to those who labor together for the one ideal in which the child, the State, and God blend into one infinite, transcending and glorious dream. No one has expressed it more solemnly and none more beautifully than the Prophet of Israel: "I have betrothed unto myself in justice and righteousness, in tenderness and in loving kindness. I have betrothed unto myself in faithfulness and ye shall know the Lord." Whatever defeats this purpose, whatever violates this ideal of marriage is a just cause for separation and divorce.

The Nation's Treatment of Its President and the League of Nations Once More

Stainless soldier on the walls,
Knowing this,—and knows no more,—
Whoever fights, whoever falls,
Justice conquers evermore,
Justice after as before,—
And he who battles on her side,
God, though he were ten times slain,
Crowns him victor glorified,
Victor over death and pain.

—Emerson.

If President Wilson had so led the nation that we had lost the war, that our help had proven of no value to the Allies and that ignominious and desolating failure had settled upon our banners, the nation's attitude toward the President of the United States would have been explicable. Even if we had failed most ingloriously, it might have been the part of justice to inquire whether the President was in any wise responsible for the failure, whether failure involved demerit or blameworthiness on his part.

It has come to pass, however, that we did not lose the war, that our help proved decisive, that our intervention came most opportunely, and that the American Army and Navy won everlasting fame for themselves and their country in the sight of all the world. It may, therefore, not be wholly presumptuous to offer the suggestion that the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the

United States be not dealt with as if he were responsible for the defeat of the American forces in the recent war. I should not be so bold as to claim that the President deserves any credit for winning the war. But is it unreasonable to ask that he shall not be condemned for having lost a war which the country under his inspiring leadership won, or helped to win?

From the beginning, infinite hurt was done first to America and subsequently to the whole world-structure, as the result of an un-American leadership, which, far from stopping at the water's edge, carried its personal hostility to the President across the seas. The peoples of France and England, and more particularly their political leaders, were moved to believe that it was the Republican Party that was their friend, and that it was President Wilson who was their enemy. The President's associates at the Peace Conference acted throughout in the spirit of friendship to America, but they could not escape the impression insidiously and ceaselessly spread, that President Wilson's was not the last word, that there was a world elsewhere, that the Court of Appeals from the President was to be found in the minds of the American people.

Long before the President arrived in Europe, some American papers and more American politicians had begun to state that the President no longer represented the United States. Moreover, this was constantly and vociferously maintained by those who were fearful that the President would attempt to impose upon France and England a so-called liberal or "German peace." They insisted, in and out of season, that "France and England had won the war and not America, and, inasmuch as these had won, they and not we ought to make the peace; they must make the peace regardless of the President and his so-called Fourteen Points."

At that time, the determination of the ultra-conservatives and reactionaries, including no inconsiderable part of the leadership of the Republican Party, was that, if the President dared to come home, bringing a so-called liberal peace with him, he should be denied and overwhelmed. The question is worth asking, what would the Republican leaders in and out of the Senate have done if the President had brought with him any other kind of peace than the strong or relatively strong peace which he helped to perfect? He would have been repudiated, repudiated with open resentment, and in a spirit which might have led to an attempt to impeach him had he succeeded in doing some of the things that might (and ought to) have been done, if Europe had not been forewarned and forearmed against this great American by the littleness of his partisan and personal foes.

What the President succeeded in doing was made possible by reason of his impressive and massive personality. I am not unmindful of the fact that a British scribbler, who might almost be called an English official counterpart of our American Bullitt, in a recent issue of "The New Republic," speaks of the President as a "dull-minded man." The edge of the President's mind had not been dulled, but the edge of his great influence had been blunted because the impression was constantly conveyed to the mind of Europe that this man had ceased to represent America; that, while he remained the *de iure* President of the United States, the real leadership of the American people and its mind rested with the leaders of the Republican Party, who could be depended upon to overturn his work and to support those representatives of foreign lands who at the Peace Conference stood firmly and inflexibly against him.

Time and again during the peace negotiations, the Allies were told and told in the most flagrant

and scandalous way, particularly in the gutter-sheets of Paris, subsidized, as was commonly believed, by American money, that the President represented himself alone, his frayed and shopworn academic idealism, and that, while he had formulated the position of America with a certain degree of power during the war, such power had waned, and that he had become merely vocal of a waning minority party unable to deal with vision and authority with world problems.

Not only was it made impossible for the President to carry to Europe the conviction that he represented the mind of all America, but upon his return, and even before his return, what he said and did was assailed not because it was right or wrong, true or false, just or evil, but because it was his work and therefore must be assailed and denied. The truth is that the President never ceased to represent America. He did not represent the Bowery; he did not, I thank God, represent the United States Senate at its worst, nor purport to speak on its behalf; he did not represent the professional war-makers, nor the swollen munition manufacturers, but he represented and continues to represent the moral genius, the political idealism and the noblest aspirations of America.

That the attitude of the United States Senate since the return of the President has been one not of impartial consideration of the merits and demerits of the Treaty and the League, but one of barely disguised personal hostility to the President, has been revealed in the extraordinary paradox that little or nothing has been said in the Senate,—nor throughout the nation,—about the Treaty itself. The Treaty is, to say the least, debatable, some of its provisions ought perhaps to have been altered, but the whole weight of discussion and criticism and attack has rested upon the League, not because the League was more faulty than the Treaty, not

because the Treaty has been less defective than the Covenant, but because the Republican Party believes that the Treaty is the creation of European statesmen and that the League is the creation of the President. The League has been assailed and may yet be destroyed, because it is or is imagined to be the President's own child, because it is his work and his very own achievement.

That the President did not represent America was unhappily urged not only by the conservatives and reactionaries and their purchased or voluntary agents in Europe, but there was another perniciously active group in Paris doing its worst in order to make it impossible for the President to exercise that influence which, because of them in part, he inevitably failed to exercise in Paris. Paris, I found, swarmed with a host of quasi-liberals, who, I dare to say, represented not liberalism but the mind of Germany and the spirit of Bolshevism, and in some cases represented both, aiming to conserve German interests by furthering Bolshevism, pleading constantly for a program which made it the more difficult for the President to press for and attain a balanced, sane and liberal program.

Though it requires no proof, my diagnosis is confirmed by the circumstance that against the President there have been arrayed in common the Lodges and the Lippmanns, the Johnsons and the Steffens, the Borahs and the Bullitts, groups of men inspired by one purpose and that purpose to undo the President. Various moved, these men, whether Lodge, Borah and Johnson, or the rest of their kind, did their best to destroy the President, who threatened, as it seemed to them, to win for his party a crown of massive and enduring achievement, the President who represented a Party which Republicans had insisted for two generations was incapable of a great thought, a noble ideal, a world purpose.

The President must be destroyed in any event, whether he represented or misrepresented America, the President who had committed the crime of leading America for six years with high wisdom and rare idealism, who had formulated the purposes and principles of his country with such power as no man had attained in American history since Lincoln, a President who must now be destroyed unless America was again to be scourged by the continuance of his party in power.

The Lippmanns and the Bullitts and the Stefenses, whom the President and some of his associates had, alas, lifted for a moment from inconspicuousness and obscurity to places of unmerited importance and conspicuousness,—these insolent creatures opposed the President on another ground. He dared to refuse to accept their ready-made program of liberalism. The President, who would not translate the columns of "The New Republic" into the terms of the Peace Treaty, must be denied, must be blasted, must be destroyed. Then and there, a foul and hideous conspiracy against the President began, a conspiracy never formally made nor formally sealed, but a conspiracy none the less between the arch-priests of reaction within the Republican Party and those megalomaniacs within the so-called precincts of liberalism to whom unhappily the President and his associates had committed the blunder of giving opportunities for mischief-making,—opportunities of which these had availed themselves to a maximum.

Again and again it has been said that the President had not remembered that there was a United States Senate, and that, while the treaty-making power rested with him, the treaty-ratifying power lay not in his hands but in the hands of that body with forgetfulness of which he is most frequently charged. Those who have been in Paris know, those who stood nearest to the President know, I

have reason to know and I have the right to say, that not once but scores of times in the course of the negotiations, the President had said with respect to certain proposals, that if this point be insisted upon, the Senate would not accept it and the Treaty and the League might be rejected. Nothing could be more unfair than to assume that the President, scholar and historian as well as statesman, had neglected to consider that the Treaty and the League covenant must be affirmed and ratified by the Senate. But the Senate seems to have forgotten that in its hand lies only the power of ratification, that the treaty-making power is by the Constitution of the United States lodged in the President and not in the Senate. Would that the Senate had been as zealous to safeguard the rights of the President as the President has been scrupulous, yea, even meticulous, in safeguarding the rights of the Senate!

Has not the Senate been justified in its insistence that the Treaty must be Americanized? But the so-called Americanization of the Treaty might have been achieved by a single sentence to the effect that any provision of the covenant of the League in violation of the Constitution of the United States shall be and is null and void. And with such affirmation, I have reason to know, the "reasonable reservationists" of the Senate would have been satisfied at the beginning. The weak, minor, neutral Powers are willing to accept the League without question and without reservation. Why should a great nation like our own, with its inherent power of taking care of itself, why should it deliberately play a part that is small and unworthy? I heard one of the wisest of Americans recently say: "How little it makes us seem and how small we become through constantly urging that the Treaty must be Americanized instead of insisting that America must give its whole-hearted support and furtherance to the Treaty."

As for the Shantung problem, which now seems to have fallen into oblivion, history will note that throughout the Paris negotiations the President was acting as China's nearest friend, and that the Shantung clause, far from being an invasion of the integrity of China, is an attempt to secure it. The President has perhaps made one mistake in dealing with Japan,—as if Japan were a civilized nation, as if Japan were a friend and not an enemy, as if it were not our most passionate desire to have war with Japan at the earliest possible moment. There are only two ways of saving China, assuming that China must be saved. One way is through the League of Nations; the other is through war upon Japan. Do those Americans who all but force Japan to war, maintain that they are ready to urge upon America that we must go to war in the interest of China?

The thing that I am more concerned about than anything else is that Europe wronged us until the day of our advent into the war by ascribing to us low motives, motives of prudence and even self-regarding cowardice. Then we entered upon the great adventure and bore our part like men. At the critical hour, we rendered decisive help, taking our place by the side of England, France and Italy as deliverers of a world from the horrors of Prussianism. The service was rendered, the sacrifice was made, and for generations we shall pay the tolls. And the Lodges and the Borahs and the Johnsons and their confederates, the Lippmanns and the Bullitts and the Steffenses, have brought it to pass that all these services and sacrifices are being forgotten by Europe and that nothing will be remembered of America save that in cowardly self-concern we shrank at the last from an imperative duty which it was the part of courage and nobleness to accept.

The moral leadership of the world was in our grasp less than a year ago; that moral leadership of mankind we have abdicated for a time, perhaps for all time; that leadership we would reclaim. What if European peoples and press believe and declare that they must go on without America? It shall not be that the world is to believe of us that America can no longer be counted upon for the leadership of humanity's moral emprise, that our effort and our sacrifice are to be in vain.

Then as Americans we have the right to demand that politics shall stop at the water's edge, that the vast issues of internationalism be not dragged into the welter of partisan politics, that the Presidential election of next November be forgotten for a moment and the world's need of peace and healing be remembered for more than a moment,—in one word, that world-justice be not sacrificed in the interest of partisan advantage.

Let there be such compromise as may, alas, be needed in order to save the League, but it is the substance of the League that must be saved and not the faces of the "irreconcilables." Least of all do Americans desire the establishment of such a League of Nations as shall free America from the necessity of bearing burdens. At what time in America's history did America resolve to put "Safety first"? Justice first, and freedom, and after these, peace and safety!

For the second time, Europe looks to us hopefully and needs us sorely. Once before, we answered Europe's need and saved our own soul. Again must we answer the need of the world or lose our own soul. Our appeal is to America at its highest,—the America of Washington and Lincoln, of Roosevelt and Wilson, the America of Lexington and Gettysburg and Chateau-Thierry, the America of

noblest vision and faith and resolution. Let America turn in its might to the Senate of the United States and demand—*Ratify*, RATIFY, RATIFY.

Let us remember that, if the League of Nations be not helped by America to come to pass, it is not President Wilson who will have been defeated, but America; not America, but the world, not mankind alone, but mankind's hope of peace and justice. The nation ought to turn upon some members of the Senate and make them feel something of the shame they threaten to bring upon the name and honor of the Republic. The members of the United States Senate, who are deliberately making for war with Great Britain, our noble Ally, bound to us now and forever, are as menacing to the Republic, its honor if not its security, as some prizes of the recent "Red raids."

No one maintains that the President has never made mistakes, that he has never blundered. I think that the Peace Commission should have been representative, as it was not, of the genius of both great political parties. I believe that the recent decision of the President touching the railroads is wholly unwise, and I dissent from it utterly and unreservedly. No man is called upon to assent to whatever the President says and does under all circumstances, but it is none the less humiliating to be told as I was told within some days upon two different occasions by men from other lands that throughout their stay in our country they met barely any Americans "who spoke a good word for their President." It is not the President who is hurt. It is American dignity and American honor that are trodden under foot. The achievements of the President, his great services, the unequalled clarity and power with which he moulded and uttered the ideals of America, that the President did more than any living man to bring about the inclusion within the terms of the Peace Treaty of the

Minority Rights clauses, making of it in truth an international Magna Charta—all these things many of my fellow-Americans for a time seem to forget. The real difficulty of the situation has been that the President thinks straight, that he is an honest man, that he does not resort to political subterfuge, that he will not indulge in political equivocation. And the President is blamed on these grounds, when in truth it is because of these things that he ought to be held up to the youth of the nation for honor, and above all for the honor of emulation. The President is not unerring, the President is not impeccable. No human, who is not a Republican member of the United States Senate Committee of Foreign Relations, is unerring. But the President's place in history is secure. He has done great things, and will stand as one of the mightiest figures of a mighty epoch.

What would be said on the morrow if the President were to pass? Not that I would have the praises of a man anticipate his passing! Yet ought we to bear in mind that indiscriminate condemnation of a man because he lives is as unfitting as is indiscriminating eulogy of him because he is dead. Let it not be imagined that I am opposed to reasonable, fair, temperate, impersonal criticism of the President. The office of President, however exalted, ought not to exempt its occupant from criticism. Under a Republic, criticism must remain free and unchallenged, but there is a vast difference between reasoning criticism and savage-tempered condemnation.

In his beautiful play "Lincoln," John Drinkwater speaks some words which it is ours to remember today. Why wait until Wilson is gone and then do him belated honor and yield him the meed of overdue justice? It is not needful nor possible at this time, whilst yet he lives, to say that Wilson is a Washington or another Lincoln. But he is a

great American. He is one of the great Presidents of American history. Let us remember that it is not only of the dead that it may be said in the word of Drinkwater, but of the living:

“When the high heart we magnify,
And the sure vision celebrate,
And worship greatness passing by,
Ourselves are great.”

“Recruiting for Another War”

By Newton D. Baker

Mr. President, members and friends of the Free Synagogue: I am on a recruiting mission, but not, for the moment, the same mission as that performed by the “little houses.” It would not be becoming of me to undervalue the importance of the War Department, or of the Army, of the United States; I do not undervalue either of them, and it is a great source of pride and pleasure to me to be able, upon suitable occasions, to say with confidence that the Army of the United States has deserved well of the Republic and well of mankind. But this morning in the very few minutes allotted me I want, if I can, to urge recruits for the other war; the one which goes on in time of war and in time of peace alike; the one which summons the moral impulses of mankind, coordinates them and brings to pass the march of progress of which we are all beneficiaries.

It is a peculiar pleasure to have an opportunity to address this audience, and to stand in this place. A personal reminiscence will be perhaps less amusing to you than to me, but I recall that in my very early childhood my mother earnestly desired that I should be a preacher. At the age of four or five years, I used to practice at that art, babbling some sort of counsel to an invisible audience about an impossible world no doubt. Then I was distracted from that pursuit and drawn into other walks of life. On one great day I thought that, in a sense, I was realizing

my mother's ambition. I was invited to fill the pulpit of a great man—now gone to his reward—Rabbi Gries of Cleveland, and I spoke in his temple to his audience, preaching my first lay sermon. And today I am venturing, with all the courage it requires, to stand in the place of one of America's foremost spirits, the distinguished Rabbi of this congregation, a man who has comforted not only his own people but many others who are not of his race and not of his faith (religiously speaking), but who delight to share the splendid idealism and courage which he daily exhibits.

We read history, I suppose, for three purposes; first, for information that we may know what the struggles of mankind have been. We begin with the spectacular part of the actions of men, their battles, their contests of force, the successions of their dynasties, but bye and bye we read into the history of the human spirit, and equip ourselves with information as to what the strivings of that spirit have been: second, we read history for guidance. Sometimes the problem we have before us is larger than any analogy we can find in the past, yet, for the most critical epochs we can find parallels and in them questions similar to those which we face. If we have the means of searching back past of men we can find episodes and incidents which puzzled and distracted each generation, but for which the solution was ultimately found, and there is guidance to be found in the pages of such history. We read history, thirdly, for consolation, for when we are deeply troubled, and the stream of the world's affairs seems to be rushing and sweeping aside the things we love, and obscuring the things for which we hope, we find in history that there have been like periods of confusion and obscuration, and that

out of them there have emerged the influences necessary to compose the times, and to bring to pass the real things the heart of man was set upon.

In this troubled time in the world's affairs, we may find information and guidance and consolation in the history of our own country; there have been three really critical periods in American history. One was immediately after the successful issue of the Revolutionary War. The embattled farmers from Lexington and Concord, with the colonists along the Atlantic coast drew themselves together, and with marvelous concentration of purpose and singleness of object, forgetting self, devoted themselves to the emancipation of the Colonies from an overseas rule. There were bright days and dark days; there were periods when the cause of the Colonists seemed quite hopeless. The dreadful winter at Valley Forge showed the fortunes of the Colonists at their very lowest ebb, and little emerges from that picture which seems to have any hope or prospect, except the splendid figure of the great man of the Revolution—George Washington. Without him, as one sees things now, the Revolution could never have succeeded, not only because of his military genius which when compared with the military genius of some other men will perhaps be found to have had no adequate opportunity to display itself; there were no such armies in America in those days as had made the reputation of military men abroad, but a changing handful, gathered from here and there, waging a kind of partisan warfare, and yet history agrees that Washington did show military genius. His greatness, however, showed in his courage, his self-forgetfulness, and his confidence in the righteousness of his cause which overrode every obstacle and brought the Revolution to a successful conclusion.

But dark as those days of Valley Forge were to the thoughtful mind they were bright as compared with the critical period which followed immediately after the success of the military enterprise. All the colonies in America had concentrated their energies upon winning the war, and immediately after it was won there seemed to be a palsy, a paralysis of the moral fibre of the people. For the ten years that intervened prior to the adoption of the Constitution in 1789 there was almost no voice to which anybody could listen. There was confusion of counsel; confusion of purpose; suspicion and doubt entertained by each man of every other man. The whole period of the ten years prior to 1789 was a pitiful record of a loss of faith on the part of leaders and led alike in the virtue of the great thing for which they had so finely fought in the preceding years. Washington's spirit seems to have remained calm and untroubled, but in those ten years public men were ill-spoken of by the people and distrusted one another. Those who had entered the Revolution with the utmost confidence that democracy was a possible thing as a form of political organization, lost faith in it, and all sorts of wild and reactionary notions were started looking to the organization of an old-fashioned government which, while it might be tyrannical, would, nevertheless, restrain a people who, having become free, had lost their sense of the purpose for which freedom is given.

The Constitution of 1789 came by accident if not by stealth. Those who called the convention did not even dare to announce its purpose; it was called to consider and advise and deliberate but not to act. Nevertheless, because the time had come there came out of that convention the Constitution of 1789. It was not a perfect document; it was so imperfect that almost immediately a number of amendments

had to be adopted which comprised political philosophies and interests of one sort and another locally entertained. Looking at the Constitution with the kind of political microscope with which it has been customary to consider state documents, it may be said to have been a very imperfect one, but the energy which had won the Revolution, and which had been temporarily exhausted by the concentration on a purpose during the war, revived with the adoption of the new instrument, and this great republic was started on its way with the first of our critical epochs outlived and our earliest great dangers safely passed.

The intervening years between 1789 and the Civil War were filled with increasing troubles. There were many compromises tried by great compromisers and little compromisers; all sorts of expedients were resorted to to keep the Republic together, and solve its problems, but they finally failed and in 1861 the great Civil War came. Again there was an intense and single-minded concentration of the American people behind a great issue; self-sacrifice was the characteristic note; everybody gave of himself and of all he had or controlled in order that the union might be preserved and the slave liberated.

After the war there came again relaxation; it was no longer necessary for all men to see alike or to abate their differences. The great task was completed, and men felt as children feel. I have no doubt your babies have said to you as my babies said to me that they do not mind being good for a little while but that it hurts to be good too long. We are not adapted to the strain of continuous goodness. Thus that great exhibition of concentrated moral strength and power which characterized the American people in the years from 1861 to 1865 exhausted our capacity for continuous goodness, and

from 1865 through the next dozen years there was another critical period in American history—far more critical than the years of the war. Men no longer thought nationally; they began to think of themselves; they even began to feel that perhaps the war had been fought in vain: there was a hysterical fear on the part of many people that the beaten and impoverished South was suddenly going to rise again, like a ghost, and, therefore, all sorts of limitations, repressions and oppressions were thought necessary to hold down this impossible spectre, fashioned in the minds of a tired people. The black man, for whose liberty at least in part, the war had been fought, no longer was the embodiment of a great moral cause; he began to be, and has not entirely ceased being, a political football, tossed about here and there in order that this, that and the other demagogue may profit by the use he makes of him as an issue.

After a while, when the weariness and the relaxation of the moral strength had reached the lowest ebb; when the President and the Congress had ceased calling each other names and ceased trying to put one another out of office; when abuse and vituperation and vilification of everybody's motives and of everybody's actions had abated, when wild and uncentered impulses had had their day, there arose again the solid and indestructible goodness of the people; order was reestablished; the Republic strode forward to new heights of usefulness and happiness for its people, and our second critical period was passed.

Now we are in the midst of our third critical period. We have just emerged from a great war. I do not suppose the oldest person in this audience can remember anything so fine as the singleness of

purpose with which America threw herself into the cause; the response came not only from those who dwell in our great cities where the means of intercommunication are ample and where those impulses of conduct which come from contact with one's fellows are most potent, but from the villages and the hilltops and the valleys. In the remotest places of America there was a common purpose animating our people that civilization should be saved and the rights of mankind vindicated. With complete unselfishness men great and obscure, men old and young, women and children thought of nothing but how they might contribute to this great undertaking. Then the war was won and we were tired. We were in the state of mind, and are still in the state of mind that orators are said to be in as they ride home in a taxicab after making an oration; they ride home and say their speech over again and say it better, as they think. And now America is riding home in a taxicab from this war, fighting it as it thinks better. Meanwhile, we have lost our loyalty to leadership; we have lost our faith in our purpose; we have lost our faith in ourselves. For the moment we have abated our confidence in our own righteousness and strength, and are scattered and are repeating the characteristics of those other critical periods. In public speech and in the press the dominant note is one of doubt of other people's purposes, and often of accusation against other people's motives; so that we are in a critical period and have need to find in history the information and guidance and consolation which it contains. And the lesson of history is that out of this troubled atmosphere there will come a clarifying influence, and, after a little, the elevation of spirit and purity of purpose which took us into this great conflict will reassert itself. The miasma of the moment will pass away, blown, as it were, from off the marsh, and there will emerge

the pure spirit of American democracy, strengthened by its experience, strengthened by its triumph and strengthened by its suffering.

It is in anticipation of this revival of the moral strength and purpose of the people that I am on this recruiting expedition this morning. We have something to do; we need soldiers now who are ready to lead and soldiers who are ready to follow in this revival. And after a little we will stop discussing the war in a hostile and critical spirit; we will remember its great purposes; its outstanding achievement, and that will have become a part of the history we read, guiding us and consoling us as we pass on to make a future for America worthy of her greatness in that struggle.

In making that future our minds will turn inevitably away from military things to political, social and industrial things, and we will realize that for the next dozen years our duty is to perfect the political equality and freedom which we have long enjoyed; perfect our social life so that equality of opportunity may become more widespread, and more fully enjoyed, and by progressive steps to introduce into our industrial life a new element which will improve, make juster, sounder, safer and more productive the relations between worker and employee. In this future America—this educated nation of ours—the worker will be recognized for his contribution to the common good: his interest in his task and his interest in the conditions under which it is performed will come to be regarded as valid things which the Government should protect. We must create a new relationship between employer and employee which will have none or little of the old curse of conflict and strike and lockout, but will be characterized by a cooperative spirit based upon an

understanding of the common task of employer and employee, and a mutual regard on the part of each for the rights and services of the other.

Our civilization must move forward; we are too young a people to begin to stop; it is said that most civilizations which have fallen have gone to pieces because of exhaustion of the soil. Our soil is not exhausted, and we have learned how to replenish it; we are entitled to a longer lease on progress and development, and the task lies ahead of us. But this progress can not be accomplished by merely continuing on a larger scale all the processes of the past, nor can it be accomplished by violent upheaval and disorder. We must understand the elements which are involved in progress. Some of them are simple. First there must be a preservation of liberty and no sacrifice of the individual's right which is not necessary to the common good: second, there must be education at the top, in the middle and at the bottom---this for the reason both that progress involves research and discovery and the application of discovery to the amelioration of life, and education enlarged the capacity of the individual for the enjoyment of life. And, third, there must be increased production of the material satisfactions which make life more comfortable, elevate the plane upon which people live, and by the saving of labor increase the leisure which is necessary to culture. Constant readjustment is necessary to accomplish these ends in a society which is growing, but they are readjustments necessary to be made with a knowledge of history in order that past failures may be avoided, and in a hopeful and idealistic spirit in order that they may be made to succeed by the enthusiasm which unselfishness alone can put behind social experiments.

Therefore, my application for recruits today is not to carry a musket and to wear a uniform, but to carry ideals and to gather around those who are the leaders to inspire them and sustain them. I wonder sometimes where the ideals of a people are. In our daily life we do not think much about them. We do not take them out of their hiding places and look at them. In ordinary life when a man talks much about his ideals he is said to be (and often is) a good deal of a bore, and yet we have them; I have them, the nation has them, and when the call of a great task comes from some hidden and inaccessible recess in the common conscience of mankind there comes the virtue necessary to the task. It was so in this war! We did unpredictable things in our unselfishness and our idealism in this war, and it will be so in the industrial readjustment. We have it in us to establish a just civilization.

Obviously we can not get very far until we have some kind of a treaty of peace. I shall not speak in detail on a subject which may be regarded as controversial, but the fact is that there are a lot of wars—little ones and large ones—going on in the world now. Nations are arming to the teeth; nations everywhere in the world are endeavoring to buy arms from one another, and are seeking to have other nations make arms and munitions for them. Apparently there is as yet no general acceptance of the fact that this war, which was fought to put an end to wars, was won. This failure has come chiefly from the delay in our own ratification of the treaty, and it has always seemed to me that the thing of primary importance about both the treaty and the covenant was not so much the particular set of words in which the new international relationship was expressed, but that it mattered very much more what was back of it than what was in it. If we, immediately

after the treaty was approved in Paris, could have thrown ourselves joyously into its execution; if we could have gone with enthusiasm into the leadership of the fellowship of nations and had not stopped to make cautious inquiries about this, that and the other possible but improbable interpretation of clauses here and clauses there, we would have demonstrated our spiritual adhesion to the kinship of nations and to the rule of justice among them.

In other words, I think we have lost (I hope not permanently) the spiritual leadership of the world by our delay. Our doubts are not creditable to us; they are chiefly doubts of ourselves. Apparently what we have been most concerned about is to put some armor upon us and make some self-protecting regulations which will make us safe in any case, no matter what happens to the rest of mankind. We have abandoned the spirit of Chateau Thierry and the Argonne and accepted the spirit of the other critical periods in our timidity, our doubt, and our loss of faith in the virtue of a democratic people. But that will pass; there will be a league of nations—we, I hope, will be in it, and the thing we have lost we will painfully regain. The liberated spirits throughout the world will establish orderly governments; ultimately the burden of militarism will pass, and we will be ready for the great industrial triumphs which remain to be won.

In this hour our duty is clear. You recruits, your duty is clear: the ship which carries the affairs and interests of mankind is sailing a troubled sea, the waves are dashing very high and obscuring the horizon so that we can not tell as we stand on the deck whether in fact there is anywhere a safe port. The surface of the deep is agitated and the ship blown hither and yon, but the Captain stands fast and the

crew—you and I—have a tradition of success in government, a tradition which demonstrates and vindicates the virility of democracy. Let us gather around the Captain. The ship will weather the storm, and as we ride out of it and into port we shall see a pleasant prospect, the hills of opportunity scattered all about us; when we have ascended these hills, the vision of the future of mankind made better and more perfect by the revival of our unselfish idealism, instructed by our experience and enriched by our sacrifices, will indeed be a pleasant prospect to the children of men.

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